The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565]
though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582
cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *táboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586
Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

> 171
> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 175 888
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have 582
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, 595
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond 622
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of 684
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman 847
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at 855
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo 888
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less 291
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- 276
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." 562

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her 784
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- 582
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman 607
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the 335 622
work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects 342
to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, 466
may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may [465]
build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely [171]
he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so for- 342
tunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect 565
their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty 335
of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular 764
box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits 333
the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same 349
time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception. [565]

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a 226
seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of 621
the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) 464
to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women,
and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The [643]
pulepola, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which [651]
were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was
made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand
in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well [302]
oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the [291]
neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes. [293]

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* 226 621
grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on 423
the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities [438]
did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly
districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom 226
essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighbor- 621
ing *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia* 628

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle 276
(fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it 574
there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which 643
thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou).
As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it [776]
would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans [782]
poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an [171]
offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

> If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country 276
> is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is 574
> diluted." 782
>
> The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing." 643
>
> Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted." 622
>
> The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.
>
> 782
> The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or 276
> for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava cere- 574
> mony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child [724]
> may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people. [505]

This prayer may also be uttered: [461] [843] [842]

LAND OWNERSHIP

Regarding the ancient systems of land tenure in Tonga, Alexander (1) 423
writes;

> On passing from the three other western groups [New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji] to
> Tonga, we find a remarkable and striking change in political institutions, in land tenure,
> and in social customs. In a word, we are politically, though not geographically, in eastern
> Polynesia. We find no organized village communities or clans, holding lands in common, [621]
> but a fully developed feudal system, and a strong centralized government. The patriarchal [614]
> head of the clan has become a landlord, and the clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie [612]
> of blood relationship, have become his tenants and subjects. From Rev. L. Fison we learn [613]
> that the nation was divided into four main tribes, two of which were further subdivided [619]
> into subtribes.
>
> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great 643
> landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn sub- 622
> divided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the 423
> king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by [701]
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general
> tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of [651]
> their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The [565]
> "Tuas" could not call anything they had their own. The great chiefs could seize on [421]
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor
> upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all [464]
> the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the [226]
> Society and Hawaiian islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. [171]
> On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting
> her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, [428]
> where Tribal tenure prevailed.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 412) says:

> The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such,
> seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that
> are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal
> barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, 428
> everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the
> eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest 643
> of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is [171]
> born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his
> decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

MODERN LANDED NOBLES

Thomson (54, pp. 230, 231) has the following to say concerning land 423
tenure:

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In 423
> former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The 643
> great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the 565
> right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the 178
> title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land
> was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But 622
> in 1888, Mr. Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing [427]

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was 423
the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured 428
articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister
(*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both
sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes
the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and [764]
ngafingafi mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called
koloa kekekele.

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communication 643
easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) 484
says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the [132]
"sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with
the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the
local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same
scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more
frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of
the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs 643
they were assembled in what is called a *fono*, to hear orders from the chiefs. 642
Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to 565
do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. 622
At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; commoners [641]
could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice [624]
in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, [624]
though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's
orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a [171]
Samoan *fono,* which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering.

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an independent 622
fono so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably 621
consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject 643 634
concerning the whole island, as for instance, war.

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss 622
arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meeting 624
of this nature was not a *fono.*

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was 466
given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would 684
laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he 622 565
would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wil- 685
son (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in [171]
general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders
seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent
of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger 844
(usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively 846
yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child 302
were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, 386 [844]
p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days.
Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a [853]
sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child
warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully.
The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale 846
refers to the use of turmeric: 773 302

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded 386
> the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin 858
is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial 846
spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu.* Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava,* or *haihai.*

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the opera- [431]
tion, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua.*

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: [837]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. [689]
>
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau.* It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head. 302

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 543
presented to the bride by her brother. 431

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622] [565]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama.* Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga at Utulifuka, which stands on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel which runs down towards Haatua. Teeveka stands opposite Utulifuka, on the north side of the Vaitaki. 773 539

On the occasions when the people of Tuutaki went to the ceremonies (a single stick show or something of that sort), they used to tell Tuutaki to stay at home and get the food ready and to mind the place. This would be done year after year, Tuutaki regularly staying at home. But on one occasion when the boy was nearly grown, the people went off as usual to Utulifuka, telling him to stay at home and do his usual job. The boy put the food in the earth oven, then went and dug clay (*umea*), washed himself clean, put on his tapa garment, got a coconut club, and went to the festival (*katoanga*). The people were there in two sides, one side from Tuutaki and the other from Ohonua. Tuutaki went and sat with the Ohonua side. In the games (*fetaaki*) that followed, he showed great prowess, nobody on the Tuutaki side being able to overcome him, and the Tuutaki people were beaten. He was not recognized by his own folk, because he was decked out very handsomely, and they thought he was somebody who had arrived by sea from Tongatabu. Afterwards he went off home to Tuutaki and put dust on himself and made himself dirty so that he should not be recognized as the champion of the contest. Later the defeated Tuutaki contestants from Utulifuka were brought home on stretchers, badly damaged. Tuutaki asked what had caused all the trouble. They told him a new champion had smitten them all. They told him to get the food for them and as he was doing his work they noticed a spot on the top of his forehead which he had not dirtied, and recognized their opponent. They thereupon determined to kill him, but Tuutaki hearing of this induced a girl there to elope with him. They two went and fortified themselves in the mountain fortress of Matakitau, towards the southeastern end of Eua. The girl was given one gate to hold and Tuutaki looked after the other gate. When the Tuutaki people attacked them, they could not defeat the two. Afterwards the two left Matakitau and went to Utukape.

At this place holes were dug and pointed stakes stuck in the bottom. Tuutaki fought with and destroyed the people of his wife's brother, who lived towards the weather shore, looking towards the rising sun. (For the sequel, see 26, p. 101.) He made holes in the rock and covered them with *kape* leaves (hence the name Utukape). When his opponents trod on these places they fell into the holes and Tuutaki then slew them. After the fight Tuutaki stuck his two-pointed spear (*tamataua*) into the ground at the edge of the precipice and rested with his back against it. He called his wife to bring water, which she did. When he put his head back to drink from the coconut shell she shoved him over the cliff.

CANNIBALISM

Very little new information was obtained concerning cannibalism in Tonga. The common belief among the Tongans of today is that their forefathers were not cannibals and that man-eating was exceptional, a view which fits well Mariner's remarks on the subject. 266

West (62, p. 270) says,

> There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war. [171]

The following are a few references to cannibalism which I recorded. Father Deguerry of the Catholic church at Mua, Tongatabu, referred to a

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting 576
it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among
chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this man- [565]
ner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so [593]
kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed [595]
his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who [482]
is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Ton- [195]
gan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called [554]
hu, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the [516]
neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of dis- 264
tinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribu- [576]
tion of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. 516
The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left 854
arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. 291
This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often [171]
nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of 201
another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The 514
Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause 302
(*paa*), also wear the hair quite short. [884]

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to 302
stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept 814
by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly [793]
woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young [565]
chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies [887]
by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories [212]
of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and
thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied
to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the
Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As
soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of
the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago
has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much [171]
interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from
a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any
great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other
eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root,
origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi [643]
on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile* [602]
fihi)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the
Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his
fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of 551
a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [124]
and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are
nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As
a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The 552
Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but
also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be
very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient
ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. [231]
The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named [773]
Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the 552
property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila 643
is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231

called Tui Malila.) This tortoise is said to have been left by Captain Cook 552
but as a matter of fact it was left sometime in the nineteenth century by a 643
passing sea captain. 231

The Tongan word for name is *hingoa.* A title is called *hingoa faka-* 551
nofo (appointment name), a nickname *hingoa fakatenetene.* In the matter
of names the Tongans are very open-minded and are keen to accept foreign
words as personal names. Evidence of this tendency is to be found in the [177]
large series of English Christian names which have been Tonganized, and
now precede the Tongan personal name. The desire for new names results 553
in some curious usages. Thus, I heard of a child in Nukualofa who was
named Saiti after a Javanese who happened to be living in the house where
the child was born. This name Saiti is likely to be perpetuated; perhaps
it will be bestowed some years later on a child which the present bearer of
the name may adopt. I encountered another Tongan child who bore the
name Alameta, because a relative had voyaged to California and visited
the city of Alameda.

To apply the names of chiefs to commoners is customary, and is sanc- 553
tioned by the chiefs. Thus a Fijian in Nukualofa has the name Ulukalala, 565
which was bestowed upon him by the great chief Ulukalala in place of the
Fijian's former name Usaia.

In ancient times there would seem to have been occasional exchanges 553
of names such as were prevalent in the Society Islands, but that such ex- [171]
change was common in Tonga I very much doubt. The single example of
exchange which came to my notice is in connection with the title Tuita
(p. 138).

Name givers were usually but not necessarily close relatives of the child
named. Europeans are often given Tongan names by Tongans. Thus, one 553
of the sons of E. E. V. Collocott was given the name of Tokeimoana by 609
the Queen. Mr. and Mrs. McKern's son, born in Tonga, was named Namoa
by the great chief Ata, this being the name of one of the sons of the Tui
Kanokupolu Mumui. The reason for selecting this name was that Ata's
mother is a descendant of Mumui. In Vavau I met a woman of high 553
rank, the daughter of the late Tui Haa Teiho Paul Havea, who had been
given both a regular name and a nickname by King George I. She was
named Toafilimoeunga after the sister of the Tui Kanokupolu Vuna, and
was given the nickname Taimi (English time), the significance of which
will be discussed (p. 234).

Adoption invariably brings with it a new name which might in one sense 597
be considered a nickname. The origin of the name Ulamoleka is an illustra- 553
tion. This is a name which the present Ata bore, following his adoption
by the daughter of the *toutai* Ula. Ata's original name was Piutau. The
Ulamoleka for whom the present Ata was named was originally called Ula,

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo,* which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua.* The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa.* The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua,*
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him- [164]
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa 821
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and 797
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At 793
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of 793
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by 778
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was 787
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The 793
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that 763
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the 793
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could 784
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The 177
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and 787
793

PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as 793
they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the 787
ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the 171
shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired 793
by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from 787
Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes 775
even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo.* The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of 793
human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, 787
rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those 775
mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no 643
special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular [565]
priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least super- 793
ficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their 787
own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick 756
and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were [171]
besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through [782]
the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and 793
it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are [428]
known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki, taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama,* [462]
faahikehe, and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat 793
in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, 776
that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually 171
enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form, although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa* refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua, the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them (66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped 776
by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and departed [775
relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the 784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's conduct. 778
Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offerings, [776
was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other informants 782
said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A person 777]
who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or 774
theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people 685
assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the per- 682
petrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared 793
at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest
to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the be- 761
lief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The 782
father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one 754
who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and 771
animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted [171]
Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in cer- [538]
tain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals [779]
as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola,* or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

> You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kuma papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

> The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of 763
> anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead rela- 775
> tive several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead 764
> from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases
> whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them
> up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763
>
> When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so 753
> that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually 768
> burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! 593
> Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize 763 784
what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would 764
ensue. 267

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a super- 626
stitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be ac- 763
cursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the admin- 695
istering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death.
The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding 695 626
school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put 685
on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of them- [763]
selves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have [783]
averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and 675
a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact 779
is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is 782
regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother 782
be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things 784
inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things [171]
which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

III. Period of Decline and Disintegration (1450-1845). 175
  Appointment of first Tui Haa Takalaua (1470). 105
  Appointment of first Tui Kanokupolu (1610).
  Vuna's campaign against Vavau (1700).
  Death of last Tui Haa Takalaua (1799).
  Rebellion of Ulukalala against Tui Kanokupolu (1799).
  Beginning of European contact.
    Shouten and Lemaire (1616).
    Tasman (1643).
    Cook (1773, 1777).
    London Mission (1797).
    Methodist Mission (1822).
    Catholic Mission (1842).

IV. Renaissance and European Acculturation (1845——).
  George I becomes Tui Kanokupolu in 1845; his life 1799-1893 (the "Grand Old Man").
  Death of last Tamaha (1852).
  Death of last Tui Tonga (1865).
  Accession of George II (1893).
  Establishment of the British protectorate (1900).
  Accession of Charlotte (1918).

The parallels in the social organization of Tonga and the remainder of Polynesia and Micronesia are obvious. 105 171 Beyond Oceania, Tongan social organization suggests that of ancient Japan. The general course of political development in the two countries is also superficially parallel, though Tonga is but a miniature replica of Japan in this respect, the Tui Tonga corresponding to the Mikado, the Tui Kanokupolu to the Shogun. In both countries society was patrilineal; the patrilineal groups traced descent for many generations, sometimes back to a god; and each patrilineal group had a patron deity; the members of the patrilineal groups were of unequal rank. In both countries great chiefs were buried in megalithic vaults in mounds. Both countries were characterized by lack of priestly rule. There are certain general resemblances in mythology and worship: Tongan and Shinto mythology are strikingly similar in tenor. The parallels are such as to suggest the possibility that the social organizations of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Japan are genetically connected. 177 It seems predictable that further evidence will reveal two streams of influence into Polynesia, one from southeastern Asia via Malaysia, the other from Japan via Micronesia; the former bearing features of the theoretical Indo-Oceanic culture, the latter bearing the traits just enumerated.

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The editor, Mr. Smith, in note, p. 210, remarks the different modes of spelling and pronouncing this name, employed by different travellers, and that the C and the T are scarcely to be distinguished in the pronunciation of the language. The fact is, there are few of the natives but who have lost some of their front teeth, owing to an absurd custom of knocking them out as a sacrifice, for much the same purpose as the Tonga people cut off their little fingers: the consequence is, that their pronunciation, to the ears of a foreigner, is exceedingly indistinct: they often confound the *r* and the *l*, possibly from this cause; but their indiscriminate use of the hard *c* and the *t*, Mr. Mariner is convinced, arises from this source; for instance, their word for "*England*," and for "country *foreign*," as given by Mr. Campbell, is "*Kaheite*," or "*Caheite*;" but which properly should be Taheite, and is taken from the island of that name, which we call Otaheite; and why this word Taheite has been adopted to designate foreign countries generally, and England particularly, I conceive to be

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Cava), which he never saw employed but 000
as a medicine to prevent corpulency, [104]
ardent spirits being adopted as a luxury instead of it. Mr. Mariner, when he was at Wahoo, saw it drunk twice as a luxury, and was told that several of the old men still preferred it to spirits. It must be remembered that this was four years before Mr. Campbell's time.

P. 188. It is here remarked that the women are much disposed to break the *taboo:* the author says, "*I have known them eat of the forbidden delicacies of pork and shark's flesh. What would be the consequence of a discovery I know not.*" Mr. Mariner also witnessed several instances of this. The Sandwich-island women have so many severe and impolitic restrictions with regard to food, that it would be unreasonable perhaps to expect that they should on all secure occasions be very faithfully strict: the punishment for such offences, however, is death. It is very well worth [171]
while to compare the state of the women [562]
in the Sandwich islands with that of the women of Tonga: it will afford an interest-

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000 ing proof how much a line of conduct, influ-
[171] enced by liberality and respect towards
[562] females, is productive of morality.

P. 206—7. The author here mentions a custom of the queen, that of preserving the bones of her father, wrapt up carefully in a piece of cloth, "*because she loved her father so dearly.*" Mr. Mariner saw these bones, and on enquiry, found it was not merely a custom of the queen, but a common practice among them.

P. 209. In regard to the question, whether the natives of the Sandwich islands are cannibals, Mr. Mariner is disposed to believe that they are not; those natives who were with him at Tonga always strongly denied the charge.

[114] These several statements, it is hoped,
the reader will not think tedious: they
serve as very fair proofs of the accuracy
with which Mr. Mariner noticed what he
saw, and the fidelity of his memory in re-
128 taining it. Some of these statements, as
before mentioned, are inserted in the body
of the present work, and were printed
off before Mr. Campbell's book was pub-

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the occasion; but on these several of the chiefs 262
made a hearty repast. Finow was particularly fond of dog's flesh, but he ordered it to be called pork; because women and many men had a degree of abhorrence at this sort of diet. The parts of the dog in most esteem are the neck and hinder quarters. The animal is killed by blows on the head, and cooked in the same manner as a hog: Mr. Mariner has frequently partaken of it, and found it very good; the fat is considered excellent. At the Sandwich 171
islands the practice was almost universal in Mr. 262
Mariner's time, so that more dog's flesh was eaten than pork: the hogs being preserved to be used as a trading commodity with European and American vessels. At these last mentioned islands most of the male dogs are operated upon, and afterwards fattened for the express purpose; and Mr. Mariner thinks their flesh is nearly as good and tender as that of a sucking pig.

Finow having ordered all things to be got 223
ready, went out early in the morning after his 634
arrival, to try the excellence of his bird; and had very great sport. The day following he went out again; but the bird, from some cause or another, would not make any noise; and this made him so angry that he knocked it on the ground, and beat it with an arrow,

685 matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if
237 not for herself. The remainder of these teeth
634 were discovered a long time afterwards, by the
422 particular intervention (as the natives will have
565 it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when
there being occasion to build and consecrate a
346 house to some god, on the island of Lefooga,
237 it was taken into consideration what valuable
article should be deposited beneath its foundation,
according to the custom on such occasions.
346 They were about to get ready a large
237 bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the inspired
793 priest of the god declared it to be the
787 wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth;
and that there were several buried together on
the small island just spoken of, in such a particular
spot: which place being referred to and
dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state.
This discovery was most firmly and most piously
believed to have been made by the sacred
interposition of the god himself, who inspired
his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge
to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if
171 possible, in still greater estimation, for it would
237 be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a
great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner,
to be known to have a whale's tooth
about him; the personal possession of such a

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valuable property would endanger his life: the 171
axe, or the club, on some unlucky occasion, 287
would deprive him of it for ever, and of his life too.

The whale of which we have been speaking 262
as just found was, for the most part, in a very 565
corrupted state; there were, however, some places where it was not quite so bad; and as whale's flesh was rather a novelty, (and as novelty is often a provocative of appetite) the lower orders managed to make a meal of it.

About this time a ship arrived off the north- 727
west coast of Vavaoo. She proved to be the Hope, Captain Chase, of New York. When Mr. Mariner heard the agreeable intelligence of her arrival, he was with Finow at the small island of Ofoo, on the eastern coast of Vavaoo. He immediately asked the king leave to go on board, who very readily and very kindly gave his permission. Several matabooles were with him, one of whom whispered something to the king, which Mr. Mariner imagining to be prejudicial to himself, endeavoured to distract Finow's attention by repeatedly thanking him for his liberal conduct towards him, and expressing the grateful sense he entertained of his long continued friendship and protection; assuring him that he had no other wish to leave the islands but what was prompted by the natural desire

484 obliged to change his course, and make for Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands;) but the wind soon increasing to a heavy gale, drifted him to the island of Fotoona, situated to the 000 north-west of Hamoa. As soon as the natives of this place observed his approach, a number of small canoes (for they were not in possession of sailing canoes) came from the shore to meet him; and, consistently with the laws and customs of the island, tock possession of his canoe, and all his property. It forms an important part of the religion of this island to consider every thing that arrives there, whether of great or little value, as the property of their gods; no matter whether it be a large canoe, or a log of wood. It is first offered to the gods by the priest, with an appropriate address *, and is afterwards shared out among the chiefs. This spoliation is believed to be necessary for the welfare of the country; lest the gods should send a sickness among them, and cut them off, for infringing upon this great doctrine of their religion. This seems a very arbitrary law, and likely to have been invented for the purpose of plundering strangers, under the mask of reli-

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[171]
[782]
* This is the method of making offerings to the gods in Tonga; and, as Cow Mooala made no mention of any thing particular in this ceremony, among the people of Fotoona, it is presumed to be conducted in the same way.

they were greatly surprised at the sight of so 000
large a canoe, and considered this chief and his
men as hotooas (gods) or superior beings, and
would not suffer them to land, till they had
spread on the ground a large roll of *gnatoo*,
which extended about fifty yards, reaching from
the shore to the house prepared for them. At 773
this island Cow Mooala remained but a short 771
time: during his stay, however, the natives
treated him with very great respect, and took [484]
him to see some bones which were supposed to
have belonged once to an immense giant; about
whom they relate a marvellous account, which
is current at Tonga as well as at Lotooma.

"At a period before men of common stature lived at Tonga, two enormous giants resided there, who happening on some occasion to offend their god, he punished them by causing a scarcity on all the Tonga islands, which obliged them to go and seek food elsewhere. As they were vastly above the ordinary size of the sons of men now-a-days, they were able, with the greatest imaginable ease, to stride from one island to another, provided the distance was not more than about a couple of miles; at all events their stature enabled them to wade through the sea without danger, the water in general not coming higher than their knees, and in the deepest places not higher than their hips.

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Thus situated, no alternative was left them but to splash through the water in search of a more plentiful soil. At length they came in sight of the island of Lotooma, and viewing it at a distance with hungry eyes, one of them bethought himself that if this small island was ever so fruitful it could not supply more food than would be sufficient for himself at one meal; he resolved therefore wisely, out of pure consideration for his own stomach, to make an end of his companion: this he accordingly did, but by what means, whether by drowning him, strangling him, or giving him a blow on the head, tradition does not say. When he arrived at Lotooma he was no doubt very hungry, but at the same time he felt himself so sleepy that he was resolved to lie down and take a nap, particularly as night was fast approaching, and to satisfy his hunger the next morning: and very lucky it was for the poor natives that he did so, (for it appears this island was inhabited at that time). He accordingly made a pillow of the island of Lotooma, and not choosing to lie in the water, he stretched his legs (for so the story goes) over to the island of Fotoona, making a sort of bridge from one place to the other. By and by he snored to such a degree that both islands, particularly Lotooma, were shaken as if by an earthquake, so as greatly to disturb the peace-

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able inhabitants. The people of the latter island 773 being roused from their slumbers were greatly 171 alarmed, and well they might be, at this unseasonable and extraordinary noise. Having repaired to the place where his head lay, and discovering that it was an immense gigantic being fast asleep, they held a consultation what was best to be done; and came at length to a resolution of killing him, if possible, before he awoke, lest he might eat them all up. With this intention every man armed himself with an axe, and at a signal given they all struck his head at the same moment; up started the giant with a tremendous roar, and recovering his feet he stood aloft on the island of Lotooma, but being stunned with the blows, he staggered and fell again, with his head and body in the sea, and being unable to recover himself, he was drowned, his feet remaining upon dry land; and thus the great enemy was destroyed."

As a proof of these facts they shew two enormous bones, which, as they say, belonged to this giant, and the natives in general believe it. The people of Tonga, however, are not quite so credulous with respect to this story, which they generally tell in a jocose way. Mr. Mariner 000 asked Cow Mooala what sort of bones they were; he replied that they were enormously large, he could not well describe their shape,—

000 It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged: not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary;) but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts*, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time.
[266] At the Fiji islands war and devastation are much
[171] more frequent than at the Tonga islands, consequently scarcity is also much more frequent,
[669] and cannibalism accordingly much more prac-
[261] tised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more troubled by intestine war than the other Fiji

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* Mr. Mariner had from good authority a circumstance that
266 may be mentioned here as illustrative of the point in ques-
578 tion. A certain man at Tonga had a violent hatred to another, whom he sought an opportunity of killing in battle; at length he succeeded; and, cutting open the body, dissected off the
[829] liver, and took it home to his house. He tied the liver up in a piece of *gnatoo*, and whenever he wanted to drink water or cocoa-nut milk, he would dip it in, and then squeezing out some of the juice into his beverage, drink it off to satisfy his revenge: this fact was universally known and spoken of, but with much disgust. The cause of his enmity was the ill usage which his wife had received on being taken prisoner by the other. Mr. Mariner knew the man.

islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
called) is constantly in a state of war, and 664
scarcity consequently is much more common
there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and 261
cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
islands, but then it has not been the scene
of warfare for more than about twenty years,
whereas the latter nation has been familiar,
more or less, with this scourge of the human
race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may men- 175
tion, that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
European ship touched there, the boat of which,
on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
some of the natives, in consequence of which,
three of her crew were killed and dragged up
the country. These the natives embowelled 175
and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
were all taken very ill, being attacked with [165]
nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
three of them actually died. Some of the na- [829]
tives attributed this circumstance to an un-
wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

000 coming now replete with the powder, when quite dry they work it up with great care and attention, occupying three or four hours in frizzing it out with a sort of comb, to a considerable distance from the head, resembling an immense wig, from four to nine inches thick, being raised equally from the head, at the top, A back, and sides. Like the Tonga people, they A [171] [291] generally go bareheaded; but to preserve this fine head-dress from being injured by the dews of the night, they usually cover it with about a square yard of white *gnatco*, beaten out very fine, so as to appear the more light and elegant; and this is quite sufficient to keep off the moisture: they tie it on with remarkable neatness.

At the Fiji islands the boys and girls go quite naked, the girls till they are about ten years old, the boys till they are about fourteen: after which periods the girls wear the usual dress of the women, which consists merely in a sort of circular apron, about a foot or fourteen inches broad, worn quite round the waist: when they grow old, it is increased to about a foot and a half in breadth. At the age of fourteen the boy begins to wear the *mahi*, or usual dress of the men, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, as seen by him at the Sandwich islands, where they use the same,

A [The Fijians--Analyst]

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though at the Fiji islands it is of much greater 000 length, being wrapped round the body many times: one end of it passes between the legs, so as to represent, when adjusted, what in surgery is called a T bandage *.

Children are married by their parents (or rather betrothed to each other) when they are three or four years old. This circumstance gives rise to the complaint usually made by the natives of Tonga who visit Fiji, that they can find no woman but who is under the protection of a jealous husband. This Cow Mooala sadly complained of; and it leads us to the inference, that the women there are very faithful to their husbands. A man may have several wives; but the greatest chief, that is, she who is of the best family, is the principal wife; and in respect to her,—if her husband die first, she must be strangled on the day of his death, and afterwards buried with him. Mr. Mariner knows this fact from what happened 563 at Vavaoo, a short time after the peace 768 with Toe Oomoo; and as it was not mentioned at that time, the present is a fit oppor-

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* At these islands they perform circumcision at fourteen [171] years of age, after the Judaic method, i. e. by drawing forward the præputium, and cutting off a section. At the [304] Tonga islands they only make a longitudinal incision of the upper part of the præputium.

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593 634 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
764 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
766 lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
[533] this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain their grief, beating their breasts with
every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult
to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical
conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally interpreted) an impious and revengeful
endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those
ceremonies not to be performed which were
considered objects of religious duty on such
sacred occasions. Every morning and evening
provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment of those who attended on the body.
[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from
the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of
a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made
for the express purpose, and nicely polished by
one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
[562] custom). By this time the body had become
much inflated, and extremely offensive; but
the office of removing it was performed by
some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were
accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

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[177] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to
keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of
[171] time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

During the whole
of this day, and the following night, the body 593 634
inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened 764
down, remained in the house: in the 766
mean time Finow issued orders for a general 765
assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to
take place the ensuing morning before the
house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext
whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, ac- 634
cording to Finow's orders, assembled before 593
the house, where there was a large supply of 765
provisions and cava for the conclusion of the 766
ceremony. In the mean time the body was
conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was depo- [764]
sited, inside the house, without any pomp or
form, not within the grave, but on the top of
it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he
pleased, and take it away with him whenever
he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the [526]
caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing
rather than of mourning, after the provisions

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apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to [777]
prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of [771]
a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some
part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they 721
supposed), with ease. The entertainment was 175
prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers 723
being invited were present; it happened, however, 634
a little before the appointed time when the
signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs
still expressed their opinion that the night-time
would have been better than the day, and Finow,
finding that the majority were of this opinion,
was much vexed, and immediately forbad
it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being
given, the amusements went on without interruption,
and Captain Cook and his officers were
much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging
it to be far better than any other that
they had received at the Friendly islands. (See
his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this information [727]
at different times from several chiefs who [724]
were present, and in particular from Finow himself,
(the father of the present king, and son of the
chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting 728
which regards the history or fate of this great
and good man, to whom society owes so much,
we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances,
subsequent to his death, upon which the above
anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect.
The people of the Tonga islands behaved towards 723
Cook with every external demonstration 175
171

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723 of friendship, whilst they secretly meant to kill
175 him; and the people of the Sandwich islands,
171 although they actually did kill him, have paid,
and still continue to pay him, higher honours
than any other nation of the earth; they esteem
him as having been sent by the gods to civilize
them, and one to whom they owe the greatest
000 blessings they enjoy. His bones (the greater
part of which they have still in their possession!) they devoutly hold sacred; they are deposited in a house consecrated to a god, and are annually carried in procession to many other consecrated houses, before each of which they are laid on the ground, and the priest returns thanks to the gods for having sent them so great a man. When the Port au Prince was at Woahoo (one of the Sandwich islands), Mr. Mariner was informed of the above circumstances by an Englishman (or perhaps an American), who was a resident there: his name was ——— Harebottle; he seemed a man of some information and respectability, and was formerly the mate of an American vessel that touched there, but, in consequence of some disagreement with the captain, he chose to remain at those islands, and acted in the capacity of harbour-master to the king, and pilot to all ships that arrived, from each of which he demanded five or six dollars for his services. This person informed Mr. Ma-

and had opportunities of receiving confirma- 000
tions of what he had heard from Cow Mooala
(see Chap. X.). The natives appeared to be a 144
race considerably inferior to the Tonga people,
partaking rather of the negro cast of counte-
nance and form, at least in a small degree. As 171
far as Mr. Mariner had opportunities of observ-
ing, their domestic comforts appeared much in-
ferior to those of the people he had just left.
They do not oil themselves, and to this he attri- 171
butes the coarseness and harshness of skin, 302
which is so different from that of the Tonga
people. Their hair was somewhat more curly, 144
and rather disposed to be woolly. Their 171
whole external character, taking it generally, [181]
seemed fierce and warlike, rather than brave
and noble. Their only dress was the *mahi* (see [291]
Vol. I. Chap. X.), and this nakedness of appear-
ance serves at once to sink them in a degree of
civilization below the natives of Tonga, and the
Society islands. It is to be lamented that Mr. 114
Mariner had not opportunities of seeing more
of the natives of these islands than he did, with
a view of drawing a juster comparison between
them and the people whose manners he was so
well acquainted with; but the apprehension
that some accident might again detain him just
on the eve of his return to civilized society, pre-

114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so far, as he otherwise might have done. He was 171 curious to discover what opinion they had of [829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly, that they considered the latter to be a very treacherous race; whilst these, as already related, accuse the Fiji people of possessing the same bad character; but, in all probability, there is not much difference between them in [726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all that he has heard, however, he is disposed to be- [727] lieve that the Fiji people fight with more fury and animosity than the Tonga people, but that the latter, where they have been seriously injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a 171 longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance 266 of cannibalism among them, but they made no scruple to acknowledge that such instances were very frequent, and Cow Mooala's account of the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report of several of the natives of Pau, who were not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with much indifference, as having heard it often from those who were present, and as being a thing so likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

who was present at this horrible feast. The 171 language of these people is very different in 266 sound from the Tonga language, and is much more harsh to pronounce; it is replete with 197 very strong percussions of the tongue, and with a frequent rattling of the letter *r*. It is rather a curious fact, if true, and it appears to be so from all that we can learn, that the language of the Sandwich islanders is more similar to the Tonga language than that of the Fiji islanders, though the latter people are not more than about one ninth part of the distance of the Sandwich islands from Tonga.

There were several Englishmen (or Americans) 000 at the island of Pau, but none of them wished to come away in the Favourite, except one; but as Captain Fisk had already more hands on board than he wanted, and as this man was not thrown accidentally (by shipwreck or otherwise) among these people, but had left his ship voluntarily, the captain did not choose to take him. It is much to be regretted that most of these men were, from all report, but indifferent characters, and had left their respective ships from no good motive: they had frequent quarrels among themselves, in which two or three had got murdered. Mr. Mariner's information upon this point is from Fiji natives who visited Tonga, and also, since he has been

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number, but only five or six are supposed to be particularly active; and from their disposition to plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of being the cause of all the petty inconveniences and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's islands), they have an idea which is very convenient to the reputation of the females, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest them in their sleep, in consequence of which there are many supernatural conceptions: at Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
[782] ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[784] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[828] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare and frightful dreams. They are never seen.

Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
[823] earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This, as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being, greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

but this is suspected to be rather a Fiji tale than 773
a tradition of their own, and consequently is [177]
not much believed among them. These immortal
women are considered to be *hotoous*; [776]
but they are thought to have all the passions
and propensities properly belonging to women
of this world, insomuch that it is dangerous
for canoes to put in there; not that the crew
would be positively ill-treated by these fair
goddesses, but too much kindness sometimes
destroys as effectually, though perhaps not so
quickly, as too much severity. It is reported
that a Fiji canoe was once driven there by
a gale of wind: the men landed, and were
charmed with the truly kind reception they
met with; but in a day or two, finding the climate
much too warm for their constitution,
they wisely betook themselves again to their
canoe, and with some difficulty reached the
Fiji islands, bringing sundry marvellous accounts
of the nature of the country, and the reception
they met with. This story is prevalent, 773
not only at Tonga and Fiji, but also at Hamoa 171
(the Navigator's island.) Some of the Fiji
people believe it: the Hamoa people doubt it
very much; and the generality of the Tonga
people deny it altogether.

The natives of the Tonga islands have a traditionary 773
story respecting the origin of turtles; 825

773 825 and we will return before he shall know any thing of it; besides, (said both of them together) has he not told us that we are more beautiful than the women of Tonga? Yes! let us go immediately to Tonga and be admired, for in the sky there are many other goddesses nearly as beautiful as ourselves, and we are scarcely noticed. Upon this they descended together to the island of Tonga, and, having alighted in a lonely place, they walked towards the *mooa*, discoursing as they went on the homage that was soon to be paid to their charms. When they arrived at the *mooa*, they found the king and all his chiefs and principal people engaged in some grand ceremony of rejoicing, and were then drinking their cava. The moment they arrived all eyes were turned upon them, and all hearts, except those that envied, were filled with admiration and love. The young chiefs vied with each other in showing them the most signal attentions[*]; they already began to be

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562 171 [*] It is not the least remarkable trait in the character of the Tonga people, that on almost all occasions they shew very marked attention to females; and we believe that among all the different clusters of islands in the South Seas, the natives of these are singular in this respect. The women of Tonga are not obliged to labour to procure the necessaries of life for their idle husbands: the men work; the women do chiefly those offices that are requisite for domestic comfort, and for the promotion of health and cleanliness,

773 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin
825 and source of all the turtle now found in the
world.

This story obtains almost universal credit at
262 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are
784 considered as almost a prohibited food, at least
[753] very few will venture to eat them without first
offering a portion to some god, or sending some to any chief that may be at hand: and there are many that will not eat turtle on any account, being fearful of its producing enlarged livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is not supposed, however, to be so likely to have a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach so near in rank and character to the gods themselves.

Such are their principal notions respecting
773 the origin of things. As to the first formation of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pretend to form no idea, and never think of agitating the question, whether they are eternal, or whether they had a beginning, deeming all such speculations as vain and fruitless; for who, say they, can remember, or who has been
[538] there to see? They have no legends or tales
[171] that seem to resemble those of the Society
islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823 Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it

tal souls as well as matabooles and chiefs, and 565
which will live hereafter in Bolotoo. There 774
seems to be a wide difference between the opi- 775
nions of the natives in the different clusters of
the South Sea islands respecting the future ex- 775
istence of the soul. Whilst the Tonga doctrine 171
limits immortality to chiefs, matabooles, and at [565]
most, to mooas, the Fiji doctrine, with abundant
liberality, extends it to all mankind, to all brute animals, to all vegetables, and even to stones and mineral substances. If an animal or a plant die, its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo; if a stone or any other substance is broken, immortality is equally its reward; nay, artificial bodies have equal good luck with men, and hogs, and yams. If an axe or a chisel is worn out or broken up, away flies its soul for the service of the gods. If a house is taken down, or any way destroyed, its immortal part will find a situation on the plains of Bolotoo: and, to confirm this doctrine, the Fiji people can shew you a sort of natural well, or deep hole in the ground, at one of their islands, across the bottom of which runs a stream of water, in which you may clearly perceive the souls of men and women, beasts and plants, of stocks and stones, canoes and houses, and of all the broken utensils of this frail world, swimming, or rather tumbling along one over the other pell-mell into the regions of immortality. Such is the Fiji philosophy, but

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

775 171 the Tonga people deny it, unwilling to think that the residence of the gods should be encumbered with so much useless rubbish. The natives of Otaheite entertain similar notions respecting these things, viz. that brutes, plants, and stones, exist hereafter (see Captain Cook's Voyage), but it is not mentioned that they extend the idea to objects of human invention. [124] Mr. Mariner is not acquainted with the notions of the Sandwich islanders upon these subjects: what we have related respecting those of the Fiji people he obtained from Fiji natives resident at Vavaoo, from Tonga people who had visited the Fiji islands, and from the natives of Pau, when he was there.

775 565 The human soul, after its separation from the body, is termed a *hotooa* (a god or spirit), and is believed to exist in the shape of the body; to have the same propensities as during life, but to be corrected by a more enlightened understanding, by which it readily distinguishes good from evil, truth from falsehood, right from wrong; having the same attributes as the original gods, but in a minor degree, and having its dwelling for ever in the happy regions of Bolotoo, holding the same rank in regard to other souls as during this life: it has, however, the power of returning to Tonga to inspire priests, relations, or others, or to appear in dreams to those it wishes to admonish; and

(who never inspires any body but the king,) 793
but he is not strictly considered a priest on this [565]
account; those only, in general, being considered [634]
priests, who are in the frequent habit of [787]
being inspired by some particular god. It most
frequently happens that the eldest son of a
priest, after his father's death, becomes a priest
of the same god who inspired his father. The 793
general circumstances of fits of inspiration have 787
been already noticed (vol. i. p. 100). When a
priest is inspired, he is thought capable of prophesying,
or, rather, the god within him is said
sometimes to prophesy; these prophecies generally
come true, for they are mostly made on
the probable side of a question, and when they
do not come to pass as expected, the priest is
not blamed, but it is supposed the gods for some
wise purpose have deceived them; or that the
gods, for ought they know, have since changed
their mind, and ordered matters otherwise; or
that the god who inspired the priest spoke prematurely,
without consulting the other gods.

At the Sandwich islands the priests appear to [171]
be a distinct order or body of men, living for [554]
the most part together, holding occasional conferences,
and at all times respected by the body
of the people; whereas, at the Tonga islands
the priests live indiscriminately with the rest of
the natives, are not respected on the score of

793 their being priests, unless when actually in-
[787] spired, and hold no known conferences together,
as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently as-
[171] sociated with them, knew their general conduct,
[554] and inquired the opinion of all classes of the
[727] natives respecting them; and, after all, has no
[124] reason to think that they combine together for
the purpose of deceiving the people. He found
nothing that he conceived very remarkable in
their general character: if there was any dif-
ference between them and the rest of the na-
tives, it was that they were *rather* more given
to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and
probably greater observers of what was going
[292] forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to
distinguish them. The most remarkable of their
793 prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those
787 mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young
chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bo-
lotoo; and on that of the illness of Finow and
his daughter, when one became better the other
793 became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests
565 associate with the chiefs as much as other ma-
643 tabooles and mooas; and, although Tooitonga
and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still
they have no more to do with the priests, nor
are they any otherwise connected with them,
nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

128 Having thus far given a general view of the

831 182 and if it be asked what effect this system has upon the welfare and happiness of society, it may be safely answered, that there is not the

831 182 864 ledged that they become acquainted with such subjects at a very early age. Nevertheless, a young female, (suppose 8, 9, or 10 years old), conducts herself with becoming modesty, and any indecent allusion would put her to the blush. She possesses a kind of modest pride, which she probably copies from the example of her mother, or else it is her natural bashfulness, or perhaps both, which generally constitutes the safeguard of her chastity, till the affections of the heart growing ripe with riper years, she at length listens to the solicitations of her lover. In regard to the boys, Mr. Mariner never observed nor heard of any pernicious effect in their conduct, resulting from too early an acquaintance with these matters. When no secret is made, what is there to excite any farther inquiry? But if the subject be involved in mystery, it seizes strong hold of the mind; it becomes a frequent topic of discourse; and, what is worse, the curious inquirer is not contented with partial hearsay evidence, he has recourse to experience; for as long as any thing is concealed from him, he is restless and dissatisfied; and when he knows all that he *can* know, it will be, probably, at a period much more early than is proper: but in what other way can we account for the facts? Mr. Mariner saw no men at Tonga, nor did he hear of any, who made debauchery the business of their lives: on the contrary, they were wrestlers, racers, boxers, and club-fighters, strong, well made men, with fine swelling
831 182 [515] muscles. Another circumstance must be noticed, as connected with morality, and that is, personal cleanliness, in which no nation can excel (without ridiculous refinement) the people of these islands; and it is not unworthy of observation, that personal cleanliness sometimes argues cleanliness
[171] of mind and ideas. As to certain preposterous habits, which so disgrace the moral character of nations west of them, and which have been said to infect the natives of some of the

least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women 831
are very tender, kind mothers, and the children 182
are taken exceeding good care of: for even in
case of a divorce, the children of any age, (re- 593
quiring parental care), go with the mother, it 586
being considered her province to superintend
their welfare till they grow up; and there is
never any dispute upon this subject. Both 562
sexes appear contented and happy in their re-
lations to each other. As to domestic quarrels, 593
they are seldom known; but this must be said to [592]
happen rather from the absolute power which
every man holds in his own family: for even if
his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless
of higher authority in all domestic matters, and
no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling
against that authority; and if she should, even
her own relations would not take her part,
unless the conduct of her husband were un-
doubtedly cruel. That the men are also capa- [577]
ble of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner
has witnessed many proofs, some of which have
been related; and we have already mentioned
that filial piety is a most important duty, and
appears to be universally felt. 181

Upon these grounds we would venture to 831

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South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice
to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing 831
of the kind.
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181 say, that the natives of these islands are rather
831 to be considered a chaste than a libertine people,
171 and that, even compared with the most civilized nations, their character in this respect is to be rated at no mean height; and if a free intercourse could exist with European society, it is a matter of great doubt (whatever might be the change in their sentiments), if their habits or dispositions in this respect would be much improved by copying the examples of their instructors. If, on the other hand, we compare them to the natives of the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, we should add insult to injustice.

We have thus endeavoured to give a just and
128 impartial view of these people, as far as regards their notions and practices of the most important points of morality, trusting that the account will be found useful and interesting. A great deal more might, no doubt, have been said; but the farther we enter into minutiæ upon such a subject, the more we are likely to form an erroneous opinion; whilst the general outlines may be given without so much danger of being deceived; and what may be thought imperfect in this sketch, the intelligent reader will be able to supply according to his own judgment, by his attentive perusal of other
[266] parts of the work. If, for instance, it be ob-

diately from the gods, as visitations for their 784
crimes.

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, 276
and scarcely any in private, but of which the 574
ceremony of drinking cava forms a usual and 128
often a most important part; for which reason,
although cava is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of distribution, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious.

The root which they term cáva, and by 276
which name the plant producing it is also [192]
called, belongs to a species of the pepper plant: [197]
it is known by the same name at the Fiji islands;
but at the Navigator's islands, (which the Tonga people also visit), at the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, it is universally called
ava. At all these places it is used for the same [171]
or similar purposes.

The state in which it is taken is that of infu- 276
sion: it is drunk every day by chiefs, mata- 574
booles, and others, as a luxury: the form of [565]
preparing and serving it out is the same, whether
at a large party or a small one: the greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. The following description we shall suppose to be of some grand occasion, either religious or

766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
178 chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else
none that was of so high a rank as to take the
charge of his household, and be the mistress
over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooitonga's
768 wife (the daughter of the late king, and
178 sister of the present) was not subjected to this
inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the
634 late and present king. When old Finow was
living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died
before his wife, she should not be strangled:
"What," said he, "is the use of destroying a
"young and beautiful woman? Who is there
"dares say that the gods are merciless and
"cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king
came into power, and we have already seen
that he not only did not allow his sister to
be strangled, but he also did not permit another
[784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was
whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at
least of every considerable chief, undergoes this
ceremony on the death of her husband. (See
Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 Tootoo-nima, or cutting off a portion of the
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but very seldom, use infusions of a few plants, 757
which produce, however, no sensible effect, 182
either upon the system or upon the disease, 755
and we may readily conceive in how little 752
esteem such remedies are held when the king's
daughter, whose life so great pains were taken
to preserve, took none of them, nor did any one
think of proposing them. The idea of giving 177
these infusions was first taken from the natives
of the Fiji islands, who have the repute of
being skilful in the management of internal remedies:
and though almost all the surgical
operations known and practised at the Tonga
islands have avowedly been borrowed from the
same source, and followed up with a considerable
degree of skill and success, yet the Tonga
people have generally failed in the former, and
for the cure of constitutional ailments depend
upon the mercy of the gods, without any interference
on their own parts, except in the way
of invocation and sacrifice. In such a state of 755
things, it would be natural to suppose that they
frequently make use of charms, amulets, &c. to
assist in the cure; but this, however, is never
done, for they have not the most distant idea
of this sort of superstition, which prevails so
much over almost all the world, even in the
most civilized countries. The natives of the 757
Sandwich islands, however, appear to have a 171
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757 knowledge of some medicines, but whether from
171 original discoveries of their own, or from the
727 information of Europeans, Mr. Mariner could
not obtain any information from those natives who were with him at Vavaoo. One of these Sandwich islanders (a petty chief) professed some knowledge of the healing art, and it so happened that Mr. Mariner was once the subject of his skill. Feeling himself much indisposed by a disordered state of the stomach and bowels, attended with head-ache and drowsiness, this Sandwich islander proposed to give him some internal remedies, whilst a native of Tonga, on the other hand, very much wanted him to lose some blood (by scarification with shells on the arms, legs, &c.) The remedies proposed by the former were an emetic and a cathartic: the cathartic consisted chiefly of the sweet potatoe grated, and the juice of the sugar-cane; to this, however, was added the juice of some other vegetable substance, with which Mr. Mariner was not acquainted. The emetic consisted of two infusions, one of certain leaves, and the other of a particular root, both unknown to him; the Sandwich islander informed him that the root was necessary to counteract the effect of the leaves, which was very powerful, and might, in a large dose, and without such addition, kill him. Upon this

discouraging information, the native of Tonga, 757
with his scarifying shells, redoubled his per- 171
suasions, ridiculed the remedies of the other, 727
and, on understanding what effect they would have, laughed most heartily at the idea of curing a sick man by means which would make a healthy man sick. The remedies of the surgeon, however, were not more agreeable than those of the physician, and the patient was at a loss to know to whose care he should entrust his health; when the latter signified his intention of taking some of his own physic, which was the best proof he could possibly give of his confidence in it: two equal doses were accordingly prepared; the patient took one, and the doctor took the other. The cathartic was first given, and the emetic about an hour afterwards: the latter operated in about another hour, and the former, in conjunction with it, in about two hours and a half. They both evinced abundant evidence of their respective properties, and the following morning Mr. Mariner found himself perfectly well: which happy result the man who wanted to bleed him could by no means attribute to the remedies he had taken! The Sandwich islander, notwithstanding he was much laughed at, particularly about his cathartics, obtained at length a considerable share of credit for his skill. Finow took his

751 remedies twice with very good effect, which
171 encouraged some others to try; but as these
727 circumstances took place only a short time before
Mr. Mariner left, and consequently only a
few trials had been made, we ought not to
speak of them as constituting the medical
knowledge of the Tonga people; but as this
Sandwich island chief was a man of considerable
judgment, and, as Mr. Mariner has every
reason to think, a good observer, we indulge
the hope that no ill success, at an early period,
has destroyed confidence in the adoption of
two such useful remedies.

755 The ceremonies of invocation in behalf of
782 sick people have already been described in the account
of the sickness of the late king's daughter:
the sacrifices adopted on similar occasions are
tootooni'ma and *nawgia;* cutting off fingers and
strangling children: these also have both been
described; the latter is only done for very
128 great chiefs. We shall now proceed to speak
of their operative surgery, and constitutional
diseases, as far as Mr. Mariner's observation
can lead him to speak with accuracy.

No native of Tonga undertakes to practise
752 surgery unless he has been at the Fiji islands,
177 where constant wars afford great opportunities
of becoming skilful; and no native of Tonga
would employ a surgeon who had not been

tunate. From what he has heard and seen 152
of the success of this operation at the Tonga 123
islands, he is disposed to believe that about three
or four in ten recover by the aid of it. The 171
Fiji islanders, however, speak of the happy effects
of this singular mode of cure with much
more confidence than the natives of Tonga; but
as they claim the merit of the discovery, they
are probably rather too profuse in praise of it.

Tetanus is not the only disease for the cure 152
of which the operation of *tocolósi* is performed: [827]
it is adopted also in cases of wounds in the abdomen,
upon the mistaken notion that any extravasated
blood in the cavity of the abdomen
is capable of passing off by the discharge from
the urethra. Mr. Mariner saw the operation [123]
performed once in this case, and, as the man
was considered in a very bad state, and notwithstanding
got well, the cure was attributed
to this remedy. It is also performed for relief
in cases of general languor and inactivity of the
system; but, in such instances, they only endeavour
to produce irritation by passing the
reed without any thread or artificial opening:
the present king had it thus performed on him
for this purpose; and two days afterwards he
said he felt himself quite light, and full of
spirits.

The natives of these islands are very subject [164]

752 [164] completely torn away from about five inches below the knee down to the foot, leaving the tibia and fibula greatly exposed, and the foot much mangled: he was one of those who chose to perform his own operations; with persevering industry, therefore, he sawed nearly through the two bones with a shell, renewing his tedious and painful task every day till he had nearly accomplished it, and then completed the separation by a sudden blow with a stone! The stump never healed. Mr. Mariner had this account from the man himself and many others.

304 752 *Tĕfe*, or the operation of circumcision, is thus performed: a narrow slip of wood, of a convenient size, being wrapped round with *gnatoo*, is introduced under the præputium, along the back of which a longitudinal incision is then made to the extent of about half an inch, either with bamboo or shell (the latter is preferred); this incision is carried through the outer fold, and the beginning of the inner fold, the remainder of the latter being afterwards torn open with the fingers: the end of the penis is then wrapped up in the leaf of a tree called *gnatâi*, and is secured with a bandage: the boy is not allowed to bathe for three days: [171] the leaf is renewed once or twice a day. At the Fiji islands this operation is performed by

amputating a portion of the præputium, according 304
to the Jewish rite. 752

The operation of the *ta tattow*, or puncturing [171]
the skin, and marking it with certain configurations, though it is not properly surgical, 304
yet we mention it here, as it is very apt to produce enlargements of the inguinal and axillary glands. The instrument used for the purpose [413]
of this operation somewhat resembles a small tooth comb: they have several kinds, of different [237]
degrees of breadth, from six up to fifty or sixty teeth: they are made of the bone of the wing of the wild duck. Being dipped in a mixture of soot and water, the outline of the *tattów* is first marked off before the operator begins to puncture, which he afterwards does by striking in the points of the instrument with a small stick cut out of a green branch of the cocoa-nut tree: when the skin begins to bleed, which it quickly does, the operator occasionally washes off the blood with cold water, and repeatedly goes over the same places: as this is a very painful process, but a small portion of it is done at once, giving the patient (who may justly be so called) intervals of three or four days rest, so that it is frequently two months before it is completely finished. The parts tattowed are from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus: there are certain patterns or forms of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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It is a curious circumstance, that at the Fiji 304
islands, the men, on the contrary, are not tattowed, 171
but the women are. The operation is managed by their own sex, though by no means to that extent to which it is performed on the Tonga men, contenting themselves chiefly with having it done on the nates in form of a large circular patch, though sometimes in that of a crescent; and most of them have it also done on the labia pudendi, consisting of one line of dots on each side, just within the verge of the external labia.

We cannot with certainty say that the glan- 164
dular ulcerations above alluded to are always produced by the tattów, though in all likelihood, when it has recently been performed, it is the exciting cause; but the people are very subject to scrofulous indurations, glandular enlargements, and ulcers: they call the disease *cahi;* the parts affected are the groins, axillæ, and neck; though many other parts of the body are also liable to ulcers, which they call *pálla*. These diseases sometimes run on to such an extent, and assume such appearances, that we believe some travellers have mistaken them for lues venerea. It is certain that some indi-

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Prince. The beauty and neatness of the execution far exceeded my expectations. It may best be compared to a pair of blue satin small-clothes very tastefully configured.

648 cumstance, yet this one consideration tends
strongly to corroborate the idea. It is highly
174 probable that neither of them went out on a
voyage of discovery, or if such an opinion be
admitted, there is little doubt but that the people of Tonga first made the attempt, although
the construction and rigging of their canoes
[181] were at that time far inferior. The grounds for
this opinion are, first, their situation to windward, and secondly, their superior enterprising
spirit, in affairs of navigation, which may be
said to constitute a feature of their national
[171] character. Their superiority in this respect is
so great, that no native of Fiji, as far as is known,
ever ventured to Tonga but in a canoe manned
with Tonga people, nor ever ventured back to
his own islands, but under the same guidance
484 and protection. If we look to the voyage of
Cow Mooala, related in Chap. 10,[A] we cannot
but entertain a very favourable idea of his maritime skill. He sailed from the Fiji islands for
those of Tonga, but the state of the weather
prevented him making them; then he steered
for the Navigator's islands; and the weather
being still unfavourable, he was drifted to Fotoona, where his canoe was destroyed, and his
cargo of sandal wood taken from him. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, as soon as another large canoe was built, he again ventured

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A. [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 307-336--Analyst]

to sea, and returned to the Fiji islands to lay in 484
a second cargo.

The Fiji islanders make their canoes principally 499
of a hard firm wood, called *fehi*, which is
not liable to become worm-eaten; and as the 171
Tonga islands do not produce this wood, the 396
natives are not able to build canoes so large or 137
so strong as those of their instructors: all their
large canoes, therefore, are either purchased or
taken by force from the natives of Fiji. The 396
natives of Tonga take the greatest pains with
their canoes, polishing them with pumice-stone,
and paying every attention that they are not
more exposed to the weather than is absolutely
necessary. The canoes of the Navigator's [171]
islands are similar to those which were formerly
in use at Tonga, but the natives of those islands
never venture to the latter place but in canoes
manned with Tonga people.

Fono le, carving ornaments out of whales 306
teeth, for the neck, and inlaying clubs, &c. with 322
the same material. This art, as far as it regards 531
ornaments for the neck, is of Fiji origin; but [177]
inlaying clubs, wooden pillows, &c. is their own
invention. An account of the ornaments for
the neck has already been given, (Vol. I. p. 299.)
They inlay their clubs with extraordinary neatness, 322
considering the rude tool they employ, 531
which is generally a *togi* (or small adze), made 412
out of an European chisel, a piece of an old saw,

that young superior chiefs have, for the most 565
part, old matabooles, and, as they grow older, 621
they begin to have younger matabooles, who 622
succeed their deceased fathers. 624

In respect to the *tooas*, they may be sub-
divided into three ranks, viz. those few who 565
are warriors, and are part of the *cow-tangata* of 241
chiefs; those who are professed cooks, in the [701]
service of chiefs; and those who till the ground: [252]
The latter live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves wholly in cultivating the land: their wives and daughters make gnatoo, mats, &c., but never till the ground, nor do any hard work.

The natives of Fiji, Hamoa, and the Sand- 462
wich islands, who were resident at Tonga, used
to say that it was not a good practice of the 562
people of the latter place to let their women 171
lead such easy lives; the men, they said, had enough to do in matters of war, &c. and the women ought therefore to be made to work hard and till the ground: no, say the Tonga men, it is not *gnale fafine* (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine: who loves a masculine woman? besides, men are stronger, and therefore it is but proper that they should do the hard labour. It seems to be a peculiar trait in the character of the Tonga

462 562 people, when compared with that of the other natives of the South Seas*, and with savage nations in general, that they do not consign 171 the heaviest cares and burdens of life to the charge of the weaker sex; but, from the most generous motives, take upon themselves all those laborious or disagreeable tasks which they think inconsistent with the weakness and delicacy of the softer sex. 562 177 Thus the women of Tonga, knowing how little their own sex in other islands are respected by the men, and how much better they themselves are treated by their countrymen, and feeling at the same time, from this and other causes, a patriotic sentiment, joined to their natural reserve, seldom associate with foreigners. Thus when the Port au Prince arrived at the Sandwich islands, the ship was crowded with women ready to barter their personal favours for any trinkets they could obtain; but how different at Lefooga! where only one woman came on board, and she was one of the lower order, who was in a manner obliged to come by order of a native, to

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* If there is any exception to this in the South Seas, it is with the natives of Otaheite, but there neither men nor women work hard: the natives of the latter place appear altogether a soft effeminate race, strongly addicted to voluptuous habits; whilst in Tonga the men are of a more noble and manly character, and the women considerably more reserved.

TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology
171 with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough ap-
121 proximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of
the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic Mythology."[3]

127 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on
128 Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wherever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as
171 the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing
the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Polynesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian, ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubtedly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the
128 fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indicate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the
773 geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky, and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

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[3] Dixon, Roland B., The mythology of all races: Oceanic, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

[113]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

FISON'S "TALES FROM OLD FIJI"

Lorimer Fison's Tales from Old Fiji[8] include a number of stories which 171
have Tongan parallels. As Fison's collection is from eastern Fiji, a region
with much Tongan blood in its population, the parallels are to be expected. 538
Of the twelve tales he presents, six are matched by the Tongan tales pre- [113]
sented in this paper. Two others refer specifically to Tonga, but have no [144]
parallels in my collection. Of these two, one concerns Napoleon. The
second concerns "The Beginning of Death" and was told by the famous 538
Tongan chief Maafu, whose military operations in Fiji in the last century
won him renown.

Maafu's version of the origin of death, to wit: that certain gods came 538
from Pulotu to dwell in Tongatabu and there became mortal and subject to
disease and death, was not encountered in any of the tales which I gathered 773
in Tonga. The same motive, however, is recorded in Mariner's work on
Tonga[9]. Included in Maafu's tale, as a necessary preliminary to mortal
existence, is the land-fishing of Maui, whereby Ata and Tongatabu are
hauled from the depths. Then Tongatabu becomes the home of the run-
away gods of Pulotu, who become mortal. Maafu's tale conveys a strik-
ing picture of the spiteful character of Hikuleo, who becomes the lord
of Pulotu, after Tangaloa goes to the sky and Maui goes under Tongatabu
to keep it from sinking. Although many details in Maafu's story occur 538
in other Tongan tales, for example, the "water of life" and the "tree of
speech," Maafu's particular combination of details and episodes is unique.

Fison's Fijian tales unquestionably are, in large measure, nothing but 538
Tongan tales. Fison points out that many of his tales are notable for their 171
Fijian coloring in spite of their dealing with Tongan characters. He men-
tions especially the story of Longapoa, and stresses the references to can-
nibalism. On the whole, references to cannibalism are rather scarce in Ton-
gan tales.

It seems legitimate to regard Fison's tales and my collection as two 538
branches from a single Tongan trunk, branches which separated from the
parent stem many generations ago. Each has since pursued its growth 171
with a fair degree of independence. On the one hand, Fison's trans- 174
planted tales flourished in a new environment, where they were to a considerable extent influenced by Fijian ideas. On the other hand, the tales which were ultimately collected by me continued to develop in their own native environment. However, intercourse between Tonga and Fiji (especially the Tongan colonists in Fiji) was probably but seldom inter-

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[8] De la More Press, London, 1907.

[9] Martin, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 126.

538 rupted; hence a considerable exchange of ideas must have taken place
171 and to a certain extent have tended to keep the two sets of myths and
174 tales more or less similar in character.

In the account by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau, of "Why the Kings
538 of Lakemba are called Lords of Naiau,"[7] there are certain incidents that
171 are reminiscent of the Tongan tale concerning the origin of the first Tui
Tonga, Ahoeitu. Of special note is the ascent to heaven by climbing a casuarina tree. There the hero, the founder of the dynasty, visits his father, the King of Heaven. This episode is too close to the Tongan parallels to admit of any hypothesis other than one of common origin. The Fijian hero is said to have gone to Tonga after he had turned over the rule of Lakemba to his son, Taliai Tupou. In Tonga "also he conquered all the mighty ones; and at length returned to his father, the Sky-King, with whom he lived ever after, receiving the worship of many lands." The conquest of the Tongan chiefs also has its parallel in the tale of Ahoeitu, who establishes a new dynasty of Tui Tonga, displacing the kings who were the descendants of the Worm (Uanga).

The tale of "How the Tongans Came to Fiji"[8] is nothing more nor less than the Tongan story of the turtle Sangone. In the Lakemban version the voyage of the Tongans to Fiji is a sequel which is lacking in the Tongan stories of Sangone. In the Lakemban tales the Tongan crew retain one of the turtle's plates, but tell the Tui Tonga that they left it with the Samoans. The Tui Tonga in anger orders them to voyage at once to Samoa for the missing plate and not to return without it under pain of death. Once beyond the reefs of Tongatabu the crew, in despair, decide to run before the wind, with the result that they fetched Kandavu in Fiji, from whence they were removed by the king of Rewa to Rewa, where they were given land.

A version of the tale of the Son of Sun is included in Fison's Fijian collection,[9] having been told him by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba. In general this tale closely parallels the Tongan versions, but ends with the death of the sun-child when he opens the unlucky package Monuia. The marriage to the Tui Tonga's daughter is not even hinted at in the Lakemban version. The Lakemban story is a tale about Tonga, not Fiji. (See pp. 101-120.)

Fison[10] presents a version of the Muni tale from Fiji. It is entitled "The Adventures of Matandua, the One-Eyed." It far exceeds any

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[7] Fison, Lorimer, Tales of Old Fiji, pp. 49-57.

[8] Told by Ratu Taliai Tupou, lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba, op. cit. pp. 19-26, London, 1907.

[9] Op. cit., pp. 33-39.

[10] Op. cit., pp. 99-133.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan version in wealth of detailed elaboration. Just how much of this 538
is the work of Fison and how much of the raconteur, Roko Sokotukevei, is 171
difficult to determine. That some of the elaboration is Fison's seems likely 538
from the following statement in the preface of his book: "Each one of 171
them [the tales] contains a genuine legend as its skeleton, so to speak. For 114
the flesh with which that skeleton has been covered, the most that can be claimed is that it is of the native pattern."

In Fison's version the hero is called Matandua instead of Muni Mata- 538
mahae. The youthful years of the hero's life are spent in the island of Ono 171
in Fiji, thus betraying a localization, at least in part, for the story. The hero's parents, however, are Tongan, but his foster parents Fijian. As in the Tongan versions he goes to Tongatabu after reaching maturity and becomes the deliverer of his people from the clutches of a cannibal giant. The hero throughout had the aid of the spirit of his dead mother, a feature not even hinted at in the Tongan versions, in which all accomplishments are through his own great strength.

A tale concerning Longapoa, related by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba, is incorporated in Fison's Tales from Old Fiji.[11] Although the hero is the Tongan Longopoa, he is represented as a chief of high rank and not merely as a chief's attendant. Kae, his companion in the Tongan versions, and the chief Loau, are entirely omitted. Longapoa's wife, who is a scold, plays an important role in this Fijian version, but is entirely omitted in the Tongan versions given here. The Fijian tale, however, deals wholly with Tongan characters and professes to be a Tongan tale, not a Fijian tale. (See pages 139-148.)

The fragmentary Tongan tale about Tangaloa and the carpenters (page 201) suggests the Fijian tale told by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba,[12] and entitled "How the Fijians learned to build their canoes." In the Fijian tale the patron god of the carpenters (boat builders) is Dengei the Great Serpent, of the hill of Kau-vandra in Great Fiji. As the Tongan tale came from but a single informant and as its incidents are not clearly connected, I am inclined to regard it as a variant of the Fijian story. Of course the possibility of its being an old Tongan tale, now largely forgotten, should not be overlooked.

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[11] Op. cit., pp. 65-85.

[12] Fison, Lorimer. Tales from Old Fiji, pp. 27-31, London, 1907.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

COSMOGONY

773 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does
not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the pre-
171 existence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulotu (the home of the souls of departed chiefs).

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan and French by Father Reiter.[13] In 1910 Josiah Martin[14] published a portion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott[15] has published a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world. Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.[16]

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are recorded.

114 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the
paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonua as the
776 father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui Atulanga.

114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are
not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which
773 Tangaloa Atulongolongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the
tulione. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It
114 does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female): "And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao (Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

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[13] Reiter, P., Traditions tonguiennes, Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

[14] Martin, Josiah, Origin of the name of Tonga Island: Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. 19, pp. 163-166, 1910.

[15] Collocott, E. E. V., A Tongan theogony: Folk-Lore, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

[16] (1) By Taufapulotu, Koe tupuaga o mamani mo hono kakai, Koe Fafagu, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) Koe talanoa ki Eua, Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.

Kisikisi kae tuli e Maui Motua ki Pulotu. Pea koe ngata ia o eku talanoa kovi kia Maui, ka oka hala mou kataki pe he koe kii sii au.

him to Pulotu. That is the end of my poor story about Maui. Please excuse me if it is wrong, for I am only of the present day. 539

An account of the exploits of the Maui, obtained from Wellington Lavaka of Haakio, Vavau, states that before the sky was pushed up to its present height it was supported by certain plants which were known as *teve* (Amorphophallus). In Lavaka's account it is Maui Kisikisi who raises the sky, not Maui Atalanga. In the sequel concerning Tui Motuliki it is stated that he landed first at Tefisi in Hihifo, Tongatabu. "Tui Motuliki and his friends were the origin of the Haa Falefa," the attendants of the Tui Tonga. [173] [644]

Other tales about the Maui were related by a number of informants, but apparently all were based on the published Tongan versions with two exceptions that introduce new incidents. One told by Moli, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai, attributes the sky-raising to Maui Motua instead of Maui Atalanga because his oven poker got jammed in the sky. This motive is reminiscent of Philippine tales in which the sky was said to be so low that a spear could not be plied (Ifugao), that men bumped their heads against it (Tagalog), and that a woman struck it with her rice pestle (Manobo).[24] 538 171

Moli's version of the sky-raising is as follows: 539

It is said that the sky was low in olden days. The elder Maui (Maui Motua) was preparing his earth oven. When he used his poker it got jammed in the sky. Then he reversed his poker and pushed up the sky until it was very high. They say the reason of the sky being black is because the end of Maui's oven stick was dirty.

An unpublished Maui episode was related by Silas, of Feletoa, Vavau, and recounts the origin of two islets in the Vavau group. The narrative follows:

Maui resided at Ngaunoho in Utungake island, Vavau group, and lived there with his wife and children. Every day he only walked around, and his wife and children wept. He at last inquired of them the reason of their tears. So his wife replied: "We are weeping because you always go away and leave us starving."

"Very well," said Maui, "I will go and plant something for us to eat." He went between Ngaunoho and Utungake and he started digging the soil there. He dug so hard that the land rocked and his children and his wife cried.

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[24] Dixon, R. B., The Mythology of all Races: Oceanic Mythology, p. 178, 1916, Marshall Jones Company, Boston. [113]

TALES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

538 773 823 Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

● 171 [538] [773] The episode of gods stealing the top of a mountain but dropping it upon the approach of dawn occurs also in the Society islands in reference to a rock near the island of Eimeo. The following paragraph[70] with Tongan names substituted would describe the episode as it repeatedly occurs in Tongan tales:

> "They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietea had broken off the other half and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night."

539 THE ORIGIN OF ISLANDS

THE ORIGIN OF TANOA ISLAND[71]

This story is about the little island of Tanoa which was formerly situated in the middle of the lagoon of Nomuka and which a god named Haelefeke, from the Otutolu islands where he lived, came and stole from the middle of the lagoon.

He started to take it to the Otutolu, but as he came opposite Fonoifua island, Tafakula went and turned his anus from the direction from which the sun rises. When Haelefeke saw the light from Tafakula's anus in the east, he thought the sun was rising and dropped the island and ran away. That is how the little island of Tanoa comes to be standing beside Fonoifua.

For another version of this tale see pages 86 and 87.

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[113] [70] A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, page 335, 1799, London.

[71] Told by John Hafoka, of Nomuka island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina and Sinilau, two widely known Polynesian deities, enter extensively into Tongan tales. Sinilau is invariably represented as a handsome man or a noted chief. 776 539 [171]

Hina appears in a variety of roles, but always as a beautiful girl. She is considered as the moon-goddess in Tonga and takes the place of our "man in the moon." The Tongans see in the moon a great *ovava* tree beneath which sits Hina beating tapa. [821] As a beautiful Samoan girl Hina was instrumental in sending the bonito to Tonga. In one Maui tale Hina is called the sister of Maui Kisikisi. In another tale, a goddess named Hinahengi comes from Pulotu to this world where she is captured by a Samoan and becomes his wife. (See p. 19 and p. 49.)

HINA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COCONUT[117]

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Kaloafu mo Teuhie,	Kaloafu and Teuhie,
Laufoki koena tama pele,	It is said, had a pet child,
Pea ta koe faahikehe.	But it was a god.
Hoko vale ihona manavahe.	Fled they madly because of their fear.
Tupaheo!	Beat quickly!
Ona hopo he moana vavale.	They fled into the foaming sea.
Koe tuna ne hola ki Haamoa	The eel went to Samoa
O nofo he Vaiola o Hina;	And lived in Hina's water of life;
Nofonofo Hina pea feitama.	Bye-and-bye Hina became pregnant.
"Hina e! ke tala hao tangata	"O Hina! tell who is your man?"
Kohai?" "Ko Tuna Olemalama."	"It is Eel the Shining One."
Hiki mai a Haamoa o tata,	Came all Samoa and cleaned,
Pea nau ohuohu pea maka;	And bailed the pool till it was empty;
Pea hiki hake a tuna o tafa,	Lifted out the eel and cut to pieces,
Tafa pe mo kai a loimata.	Cut up and ate while (Hina) wept.
"Hiki mai e ulu maaku naa,	"Bring here the head for me,
Pea tanutanu he tanuanga."	Then bury it in the burying place."
Po nima pea malangalanga:	Nights five passed and then it appeared:
Mua hifo e toume moe kaka;	First came leaf pod and fiber;
Koe mea hulu ena keina;	It was wonderful the way it grew;
Pea moe niu pulu maamaa	And the coconuts with light husks
Koe mea fai lolo ena tama;	Were heavy with oil for their child.
Ta hono sino koe fale fakahoata.	Cut down its body for a sun shelter.

The following prose account will make clearer the events mentioned in the preceding verse:

The eel originated through two people, Tufu, the name of a fish, and Kale, meaning to run past. Their offspring was a large eel. Then came Kaloafu, a chiefess, and Teuhie, a chief, to adopt the child. They were informed that it was a god, but they insisted on seeing it. They

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[117] Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan of a tale recorded by the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton.

539 Then for the last time the husband spoke:

773 Ta'ahine Lolongo-vava'u	Dear lady Lolongovavau,
Ka 'oku ke 'ofa 'iate au,	By the love that thou hast for me,
775 Koena 'a Lulu-tali-hala,	Behold, there is Lulutalihala,
Pea moe api ko 'One-malama,	And our home Onemalama,
Mo si'ete lupe ko Mahu'a-mata,	And my dear pigeon Mahuamata,
Ke vakai na'a heu ai taha.	Do thou guard lest any should capture.

So the man went to Pulotu, but the lady went on to his body; and when she reached the place she found the wives of the handsome men who had slain him weeping. So many were there that she could not come near the body, but wept at a distance. But the dead chief's pigeon was sitting up aloft, and bade make way for her, that she might come to her dear husband and mourn alone. So they went, and the lady wept.

Now while she was weeping Ofamaikiatama went, in Pulotu, to fetch water, and he met the soul of Lolomatokelau going along, and plucking a taro leaf, he wrapped the soul in it, and thrust it into his side [presumably into his girdle]. He left his task of fetching water for Hikuleo, and came with the Fan up to the world, where he found Lolongovavau still weeping by the body of her husband. He placed the soul in [on] the body, and fanned with I Taumoui, and the man became alive again, and stood up and sat down. Then Lolomatokelau spoke to Lolongovavau: "Cease your weeping; for I am alive."

And the lady looked, and saw her husband sitting up before her, and she said, "Long it was that you hearkened not to my voice."

"True," he replied, "I was engaged in making kava in Pulotu." Then Ofamaikiatama bade them return to their home, while he went back to Pulotu, and they returned to Onemalama, in Haatafu.[11]

HINA AND SINILAU

Introduction

539 773 171 Interesting parallels to the Tongan stories of Hina and Sinilau are presented by Tregear (34). For New Zealand, Tregear says: "Tinirau at the time of his marriage with Hina had two other wives, their names were Harataunga and Horotata, the daughters of Mangamangaiatua; they were killed by Hina with incantations, they having been spiteful and malicious to her . . . . Tinirau's wife and her child left him, departing with his brother-in-law, Rupe. Tinirau had nine sisters." Rupe, brother of Hina, having long sought her, discovered that she was in Motutapu, "assuming the shape of a pigeon, he flew thither, revealed himself to Hina, and carried off both his sister and her new-born baby." Tregear

gives an excellent conspectus of the myths relating to Hina and Sinilau 539
throughout Polynesia and Krämer (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139) relates Samoan 779
stories of Sina and Tingilau which present features closely resembling 171
those found in the Tongan tales.

Sina is induced by a jealous wife of Tingilau to get him away fishing; she is then killed by the jealous wife. Afterwards she is restored to life.

Sina's soul is taken by a jealous girl. Sina's brother finds her soul, and restores it to her and she lives.

Tufitofau and Ongafau have two children, Lupe (who is in the form of a pigeon) and his sister Sina. Sina is very beautiful, is married to Tingilau, and lives with him in Savavau. A woman (human and demon) swallows nine baskets of fish, baskets, leaves and all. Sina is blamed, and is banished into the forest. Her brother the pigeon, has compassion on her, and prepares for her confinement. Sina lives separated from Tingilau, but they are reconciled through their child. Tingilau, before the reconciliation, gets his son to take a piece of taro to Sina to chew for him (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139). (See 22, pp. 181-195; 8, pp. 237-8.)

HINALEIHAAMOA DAUGHTER OF LUPE

There was once a pigeon, named Lupe Pangongoa, whose habit was 539
always to turn her tail to the wind; no matter from what quarter the wind 773
blew she always turned her tail to it. At last she became pregnant, and bore a very lovely daughter, whom she named Hinaleihaamoa (Hina Samoan ivory). The Lupe used to go about the various countries gathering possessions for her child, for she knew there would come a day when she would be married, and she would be put to shame if she had not the wealth wherewith to celebrate the nuptials. So the house of Lupe and Hina was filled with women's treasures.

One day Tangaloa looked down from the sky, and saw this wealth of mats and cloth spread out in the sun, and he called to Light Rain, "Maiden go down and get some of Pigeon's possessions that are spread out yonder." Down ran Light Rain; but she was too slow, the mats and cloth were taken into the house, and scarcely anything was wetted or spoiled or lost.

Next Sudden Shower was called to go and get something; but Lupe was very quick, and saved the greater part of her wealth, so that Sudden Shower got little more than Light Rain.

Then Heavy Rain was bidden to descend, and he, rushing down in a sudden burst, destroyed nearly the whole of Lupe's possessions. Great was the grief of Lupe and her child. Especially sorrowful was the poor girl, and she went down to the beach and lamented. As she wept there a shark [825]

NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis;* the leaves used in 539
making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root 823
was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other 103
food was not plentiful.
824

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu [262]

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which
the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself. 539

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me. 823

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collec- [103]
tively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them. [704]

Page 11. The well Veemumuni [195]

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool
of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words [773]
are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe,* flowing water (river); *vai-tapu,* springing [192]
water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit- 775
world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings 823
of *raro, lalo* (*ao*), down and west.
171

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. 192
Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of 539
Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107). 773

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38);
by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11). 775

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau [551]

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and [776]
Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of [585]
the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed
that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to [776]
attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are [538]
many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that [611]
side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this [604]
identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare. [824]

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama*
(light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings them- [192]
selves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this
world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that [576]
is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau re-
plies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo,* sometimes rather [192]
colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting
of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofo as the [823]
northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu
on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

experimentation preceding the first appearance of surface stonework. But 172
granting this possibility, it is hard to believe that the art of stone mortising, 333
exemplified in both the Haamonga and the stone house beams on Heketa,
could have been so fully developed without previous trials. Also a simple
type of terracing might be expected as the first example of surface stonework
rather than the comparatively elaborate three-terraced structure represented
in langi Heketa.

The leap from other Mua langis to Paepaeotelea is not so abrupt as first 172
appearances might suggest. Many of the Mua langis show bits of detail, such 764
as smooth surfacing, the use of large thick stones, and close stone fitting, that
are only slightly improved upon in Telea's langi, but where these features 333
occur as occasional and scattered bits of detail in the other structures, this
one langi shows a combined and uniform adoption of them all, and at their
best.

The only new outstanding features in Paepaeotelea are: (a) the bevelling of the superior surfaces of the stone terraces, and (b) the use of L-shaped stones at the corners. It may be said that the solid stone nature of the terraces constitutes a third unique feature, but a careful survey of other langis shows a not infrequent tendency towards this. Such construction is patently impossible where stratified sedimentary rock is used as the building material. The numerous horizontal planes of natural cleavage present in such rock necessarily results in narrow slabs. But the tendency prevailed, as illustrated in all the large langis, to make these slabs as thick as possible, and in one langi a single stone has a width sufficient to extend more than half way across the width of a terrace. The use of nonstratified stone in Paepaeotelea made it possible to give the terrace walls any width desired, and the desired width would seem to have been the maximum width.

Likewise, it would be impossible to cut L-shaped cornerstones from the 172
available stratified rock. On the other hand, experience must have taught the 333
builders that L-corners are highly desirable as cleft corners have a tendency
to spread under the weight of loose water-soaked soil and the outward
pressure of large trees growing upon the structures. It was not entirely a [396]
new idea; its use in the construction of composite wooden boats (17) had
undoubtedly long been in vogue. The use of nonstratified limestone made it
possible to apply the well known principle to stone construction.

Bevelling was a decorative method well understood by boat builders. It [396]
is not strange that it should have been adopted sooner or later by stone
masons. The use of L-shaped cornerstones made the pleasing effects of bevelling more prominent, and supplies a possible reason for its adoption on the
occasion of erecting this particular structure.

A discussion of the probability of an independent invention of the stone 172
vault used in Tonga must wait for a fuller knowledge of stone vaults else- 764
171

172 where in the Pacific. It would be remarkable if Tonga and some distant
764 Oceanic group should have independently developed the same type of vault.
171 The presence of vaults in Fiji similar to those in Tonga is undoubtedly due
to diffusion, but the direction of this diffusion is not too certainly known.

A platform or terraced type of stone structure, used for various purposes
172 and designated by various names, has been reported from many parts of
171 Polynesia. Its widespread occurrence argues against an independent develop-
34 ment in Tonga. Nowhere outside Tonga, however, has such a structure been
associated with the name "langi." The local peculiarities of the stonework and structural shape show sufficient independence from other Pacific types to deserve careful consideration in this connection. After all, stone platforms and pyramids are not peculiar to the Pacific but are found on all the northern continents, and it does not necessarily follow that all stone pyramids are culturally connected. Stonework associated with a pyramidal shape does not offer so extraordinary a combination as to warrant diagnostic conclusions.

172 A strictly structural survey of the langis themselves, disregarding all
native traditional accounts, might lead to the temptation to arrange langis in
764 time sequence according to the degree of development in structural features
exhibited. By such a scheme the Type A langi would be rated the oldest, Types B, C, and D logically following in the order named. The pyramidal Type E structures would end the development and so appear last upon the scene, culminating in Telea's exceptionally splendid tomb.

However, incomplete and doubtful as the traditional and historical records
172 may be, there are sufficient facts to absolutely refute a theory of time
173 sequence. The genealogies, jealously kept and protected by the pride of blood
764 which must always be associated with high social or political rank, are prob-
ably fairly accurate as far back as Telea, otherwise known as Uluakimata I. A time sequence based upon structural development is basicly wrong in that it fails to take into consideration the undulation of cultural progress, the ebb tides as well as the flood tides, the alternating of periods of retrogression with periods of climbing achievement that has marked the history of all culture.

It seems reasonably sure that native tradition has fairly accurately placed two of the langis in relative time relation to each other. These are Heketa, built by Tuitatui, and Paepaeotelea, Uluakimata's great masterpiece. There seems no logical reason to doubt the origin of these structures. According to genealogical data, Heketa was built in the early eleventh century, Paepaeotelea in the middle of the sixteenth century. This gives a certain time check with which to guide conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS

172 The great stone monuments of Tonga, of which some of the langis and the trilithon at Hahake are the best examples, are works of the present race

172 of the stone. A third petroglyph (fig. 41, *c*, 3) consists of three closely parallel, perpendicular lines of equal length with a fourth, shorter, diagonal line
531 closely adjoining the right side of the group. On the stones of this langi are
764 many other petroglyphs too poorly preserved to permit determining the detail
of design. These all occur on the north and east sides.

It seems probably that most of the langi designs served a decorative
[769] purpose, although their production may have involved other ideas. The langis
were the sacred resting places of the divinely descended kings, and were
protected by divinely enforced tapus. The Christian natives of today avoid
them. It is therefore reasonably certain that no impromptu inclination or
careless and frivolous motive on the part of amateurs is responsible for the
production of these drawings. Rather, they must have been authorized details of the langis. It is an interesting possibility that these designs are the
172 initial products of a tendency towards the type of stone wall decoration
531 so highly developed in some of the marae of the Marquesas (14, p. 133).

171 The Telekivavau petroglyphs are too simple and too few in number to
constitute a basis for profitable comparison with the petroglyphs of other
Oceanic provinces.

FORTIFICATIONS

FORMS

172 The Tongans built elaborate fortifications. If their strategical or political
712 importance warranted it, towns, even small villages, were protected. Fortifications were not always kept in good repair. When changing conditions
decreased the danger of attack, forts were permitted to deteriorate and were
not restored to defensive fitness until occasion made it appear necessary.

A fortification consisted of three essential elements: an earthen wall or embankment, several of them in some forts; a fence of upright posts or heavily reinforced reeds surmounting the embankment; a moat, in most forts dry, immediately surrounding the wall elements. Of less importance are lookout platforms and concealed pits serving as man-traps. Such a fort was called *kolo*, or if considered impregnable, *kokomalohi*.

The construction of a *kolo* started with the digging of the moat, the earth from which was thrown up on the inside bank of the ditch to constitute the embankment, *akolo* (a fence), as high and broad as the ditch was deep and broad. The steep, outer slope of the wall merged without a break into the equally steep inner slope of the ditch. Narrow breaks in the ditch, usually adjoining corresponding narrow gateways (*mctanikolo*) in the wall, permitted ingress and egress from the area fortified. The walls and moats

of most forts took a circuitous course, and where more than one wall was 172
present, they formed closely spaced concentric circles or ovals. 712

The fence or palisade surmounting the earthen wall was about 9 feet high and was made of reinforced reed thatching or of upright posts set deep in the earth and held together by courses of vine and bark binding. The combined wall and fence was called *pakelekele* (*pa*, fence; *kelekele*, earth).

Gateways were guarded by platform superstructures, transverse bars to be adjusted in an emergency, and secondary buttresses, or guard walls, defensively covering the way of entrance. Outlook platforms were placed where most needed along the top of the palisade.

The area (*tuakolo*) immediately outside the moat was the site of man-traps: *lovosa* (large traps) and *sokie* (small traps). The *lovosa* were large pits, their bottoms studded with sharpened upright stakes (*soki*) concealed by a covering of poles, brush, and earth too frail to support a man's weight. The *sokie* were small pits sufficiently large to receive a man's leg and containing a single upright sharpened stake, concealed from the eye of the unsuspecting attacker in a manner similar to that employed in the larger traps. A moat with a bottom equipped with such stakes was called *sokii.*

These forts, properly defended, were exceedingly difficult to take. It
speaks well for the courage of the Tongan warriors that they did not hesitate
to storm such defenses, often with success. Waterhouse (26, p. 316) states 171
that in Fiji similar forts were seldom taken by local war parties save through
inside treachery. The Tongans, as pointed out by Thomson (22, p. 363), 726
under George I Tupou, stormed and took Fijian forts with apparently little trouble.

Erskine (8, p. 75) and Turner (25, p. 191) show that the Tongans sur- 171
passed the Samoans as town fortifiers and actually contributed largely towards 712
the perfecting of Samoan forts. It is reasonably certain that diffusion of ideas regarding such defenses passed from Tonga to Samoa. Primitive Fiji, however, was well supplied with fortified towns which were practically identical with those of Tonga (8, p. 216; 24, pp. 91-92; 28, pp. 48, 49, 58), and although there undoubtedly was a certain amount of diffusion in both directions, it seems probable that the original route of diffusion was from Fiji to Tonga. Fijian forts were commonly called *kolo* and the word appears to belong to the Fijian rather than to the Tongan tongue.

The New Zealand pa is interesting in this connection as it bears a closer resemblance to the Tongan *kolo* than does any other fortification reported from Polynesia. The presence of strong Melanesian characteristics in other phases of the Maori culture suggests that the pa, like the Tongan *kolo*, may be considered as largely a Melanesian contribution.

USE OF CAVES

172 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for temporary
342 shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy
discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more careful
172 consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not
764 altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is interesting
to note in this connection that the Fijians somtimes buried their
[171] dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials
in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an
argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for
[173] the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees
who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and
killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and
172 in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial
which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide
764 informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary
766 places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies
were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other
hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island
of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material
from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not foreigners
in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate
that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in districts
where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial
sites by refugees for their dead.

172 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumetekava
342 (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill
south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places
[825] or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that
are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form
of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column
which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found
in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are uncomfortably
172 small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the
342 fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear
no evidence of prolonged occupation.

726 A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of
the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan
refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of
access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

172 764 stones is 0.9 foot below the surface of the mound and the lower edges of the stones extends 0.3 foot into the indigenous soil. The stones were carefully dressed, showing straight, fairly smooth surfaces and well defined edges. They were invariably placed with the major axis vertical, and fitted together so tightly, edge to edge, as to exclude all interval. The corners were lapped evenly, with no apparent regard as to which stone was outside in the lapping. The largest stone is 3.1 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 0.6 foot thick. The average size of the stones is not much less.

The area inside the vault, if this floorless, lidless, solidly filled structure may be so designated, was found to contain fine, clean, light-colored sand to a depth of 3.7 feet, where it encounters the natural soil upon which the mound rests. The remains of three adult burials were found in this sand: one 1.1 feet below the mound surface; another beside the first at a depth of 1.4 feet; and the third immediately below the second at a depth of 2 feet. The skeletal material was in such an advanced state of decomposition that no additional data were obtainable. No artifacts were found. The stained spots in the sand surrounding the bones, characteristic of the burial site examined on Pangaimotu (p. 106), were not observed here.

[171] The type of burial found at Motutapu is not known elsewhere in Tonga. The stones suggest the stone vault ordinarily present in chiefly burial places, but the detail of the structure is entirely different. It might be assumed that the structure represents an early stage in the development of the vault, but the occurrence of stone vaults elsewhere in Oceania suggests caution in formulating theories of local development. The structure might just as well be a retrogressive type of vault as a precursory type. The coffin-shape of the enclosure might even be due to European influence. This is improbable, however, as there is no record of the burial of any historic chieftain on Motutapu, and no such pains would have been taken in preparing the grave of one of less than chiefly rank. A local development of the stone vault idea might explain the unique features of this burial site.

172 The condition of the bones suggest long burial, but the influence of the stone enclosure upon the state of preservation is uncertain. Water, seeping into the loose sand after heavy rains, could escape but slowly through the joints of the close-fitting stones and the packed natural surface below. The bones would be, therefore, more or less water-soaked during the rainy season of each year. This would tend to accelerate the rapidity of their decomposition.

[764] All that can be said, therefore, is that this is a unique type of stone-walled burial place, probably preceding the innovation of European culture.

KITCHEN MIDDEN

[121] About 100 yards northeast of the burial place on Motutapu Island is a sand dune with its flattened top noticeably rich in charcoal and ash materials. A vertical pit 5 feet square was sunk into this deposit near its center.

The first foot of material removed consisted of characteristic kitchen refuse, containing much light-colored ash, charcoal, burnt coral oven-rock, and not a few bones of

POTTERY

DESCRIPTION

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[171]

Inasmuch as the discovery of pottery in prehistoric Polynesia has no known precedent, the facts regarding this Tongan ware are recorded here in some detail. The potsherds found number 1,587: 2 pieces on Pangaimotu, 5 on Motutapu, 23 pieces at two sites on Eua, and 1,577 at three sites on Tongatabu.

There are no obvious differences in pottery types found at different locations, or at different depths. At first examination, there appeared to be three types of pottery, found mixed and evenly distributed throughout all three of the Tongatabu sites and the Cave II site on Eua; the potsherds found elsewhere were too few to include all varieties. There seemed to be (a) a brick-red, very porous, brittle type, (b) a red-brown, harder, lightly burnished type, and (c) a relatively hard, black type. Excellent examples of each of these varieties could be selected easily from among any considerable number of sherds. But when it was attempted to assign every potsherd to one or another of these three classes, it soon developed that the extremes of each type blended so well into the extremes of the other types that no satisfactory lines could be drawn between them. Moreover, a given piece of pottery might have a black-textured interval, a brick-red inner surface, and a burnished brown exterior, or any other combination of the elements of classification. This made it necessary to include all specimens under a single type, paying careful attention to the large range of variations. The very small size of even the largest sherds contributed to give the appearance of several distinct types.

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The pottery is highly porous, lightly fired, fragile ware. The consistently red ware is noticeably the softest, the smooth, brown ware denser, the consistently dark brown and black ware the hardest, showing the coinciding of greater density with deeper coloring to be largely indicative of the degree of firing. Thus, much of the variety in color is due to uneven firing. In some pots the exterior surface is probably soot-blackened from use as a cooking vessel and the interior surface discolored through contact with the cooking food. Some sherds that are uniformly colored a dead black through and through suggest dyeing. Most of the pottery is so porous that any liquid dye into which it might be dipped would thoroughly saturate it. Some examples of slipped surfacing are noticeable, usually a consistently thin, abruptly distinct coating of bright, unnatural red, or of pale terra cotta, upon a ground of decidedly different color.

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The surfaces of the sherds range from moderately smooth to lightly burnished. The poorest type of surface shows light, lateral striation,

found to be much more plentiful in lower strata where the European elements 172
were lacking. The occurrence of pottery at various, scattered sites indicates
a general rather than a peculiarly local use. The ware may be described, 323
briefly, as rude, indifferently made, and serviceable rather than ornamental.

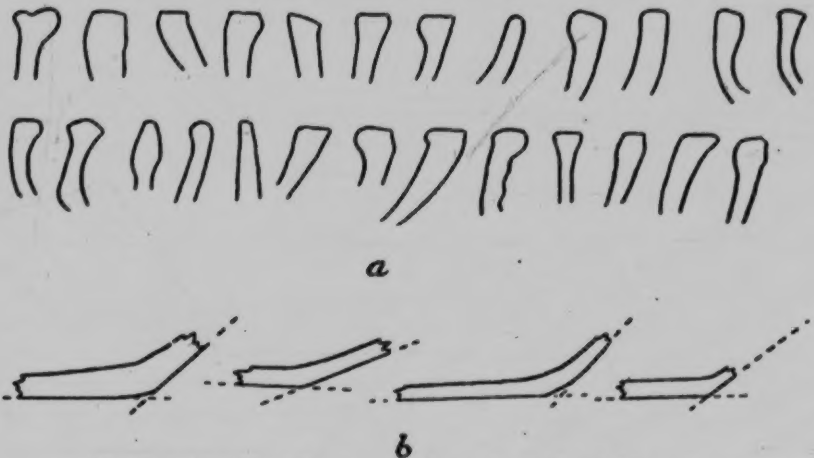

FIGURE 49.—Sketches of Tongan potsherds: *a*, rim profiles; *b*, base angles.

Though ethnologists have generally disregarded the presence of pottery 172
in any part of Polynesia, there are several published references to the prim- 323
itive use of pottery in Tonga. Cook (3, vol. 2, p. 21) says: "They [natives 175
of Nomuka] have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amster- [171]
dam [Tongatabu]; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture,
or that of some neighboring isle." Forster (9. vol. 1, p. 471) saw pottery [127]
on Eua, of which he says:

"We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves." D'Urville (5, vol. 4, p. 281) finishes a paragraph on Tongan cooking methods with: ". . . enfin quelquefois ils les font bouillir dans les vases en terre qu'ils tirent des isles Viti."

Dillon (6, vol. 2, p. 81) contributes the following to the historical evi- [171]
dence: "They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots of the manu-
facture of the Feejee Islands. . . ."

The accounts, few as they are, are conflicting. Cook and Forster thought 172
the pottery of local manufacture. D'Urville and Dillon positively state that 323
127
114

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 it was brought from Fiji, but neither of these writers, whose works include
323 a great deal of material borrowed from previous reports, especially Mariner's,
127 were above expressing an opinion as a fact, even when the opinion was
114 appropriated from another writer, without personal investigation. Of the
four writers, Cook was the most careful observer and authentic reporter, but
his contribution is admittedly an opinion, of which Forster's statement is
probably a reflection.

172 Burton (1, p. 52) has shown that the Fijians were the best potters in
323 Oceania and it seems highly probable that Tongan pottery had its original
171 conception in Fiji (Pl. VI, *B*), but it seems altogether improbable that the
Tongans, using pottery rather extensively as it seems, went to Fiji for all
[181] their pots. The very character of the Tongan, with his alert resourcefulness,
striking adaptibility, and eager readiness to learn, contradicts such a
possibility.

[128] Unfortunately, the amount and condition of the material available
from Tonga is such that a direct comparison with modern Fijian specimens
is not as profitable as could be wished. However, such a comparison bears
some fruit.

Fijian pottery consists of red and brown ware, lightly fired (20, pp.
38-39). In these respects it is identical to Tongan ware. Fijian ware
includes two distinct types, cooking pots and decorated vessels. The cooking-pot
ware seems identical in material and surface to a large proportion
172 of the Tongan potsherds. The decorated ware includes many prettily designed
323 drinking cups, vessels with compound bodies, handled ware, and
171 vessels with eccentric shapes, all more or less embellished with decorative
fillets and nodes in salient relief, and with incised lines and simple patterns
531 (8, pp 194-195). No examples of relief decoration, or of elaborate shapes,
were found in examining the Tongan ware. Not even the broken fragment
of a pottery handle was found. Incised lines and simple patterns decorate
several of the sherds, but the design and technique differ materially from
those I have seen on Fijian pottery, which is tempered with sand (24, p. 5).
172 The Tongan pieces show no apparent tempering of any kind, but may contain
323 a small amount of fine sand. The finer ware of Fiji is varnished, while
still hot, with an application of the gum of the *dakau* (19, pp. 357-359).
171 It is doubtful whether this surfacing would have long survived under conditions
accompanying the accumulation of kitchen refuse. In any case, no
such surfacing was seen on Tongan ware although some pieces exhibit
smooth, semi-glossy exteriors. A red surface was applied to some Fijian
vessels through the use of a vegetable stain (24, p. 5). A similar treatment
may account for the unnaturally bright red surfaces of some Tongan
sherds.

Tongan pottery seems to resemble that of Fiji in many essential traits, 172
as is to be expected, but to differ somewhat from it in many details. The 323
similarity between the cooking wares is much more pronounced than that 171
between the finer, decorated ware.

Good sources of clay in Tonga were not observed, but there were volcanic 135
as well as coral islands in the group to serve as possible sources, and clay
is probably not uncommon. There certainly is no lack of stubborn, sticky
mud, as the roads will testify.

CONCLUSION

The culture traits and products disclosed by archaeological investigations 172
in Tonga are representative of the entire group rather than of peculiarly 184
different districts; a single culture was disclosed. Certain rare, unique fea-
tures may have been either local peculiarities within the culture, isolated
innovations resulting from foreign diffusion, or monuments of an intruding
culture. Their rare occurrence renders them generally unimportant. A
list of these unique features might include the Fijian type of house platform
observed on the island of Mango, the square house platform on the island of
Utungaki, the stone fortification on the island of Late, the petroglyphs
on the islands of Telekivavau and Tonumea, and even the great trilithon
on Tongatabu.

On the other hand, the Tongan tendency towards the quick adoption of new ideas, whether of local or foreign conception, a characteristic very apparent in the historic Tongan, could only have resulted in a mottled culture with many peculiar expressions, which might have included any or all such highly individualistic features.

Not only are sub-divisions of negligible importance in this province, but 172
no reasonable indication of a human culture or foreign race of people pre-
ceding the culture and race of its historic occupation was encountered. This
statement is made with a full realization of the paucity of known data re-
flecting any great antiquity, but with the feeling that this paucity is prin-
cipally due to the non-existence of such data.

A great part of the investigation was limited to the Tongatabu group 172
of islands. This was not due to any arbitrary selection on my part, but rather 121
to the illuminating fact that sites apparently worthy of investigation, con-
sidering the limited time available for work, are relatively rare elsewhere.
This is true of structures of stone and earth, accumulations of kitchen re-
fuse, and all other interesting features, definitely indicating a much more
intesively inhabited state in the south of the archipelago than in the north.
Native traditions to the effect that Tongatabu was settled before Haapai 172
and Vavau, and that these groups remained but sparsely settled until com- 173

172 333 171 The problem of the origin of stone construction in Tonga is one of special interest because of a possible relationship between the masonry of Tonga and of other provinces in Oceania. Of structures in dressed stone which are found in many south Pacific islands, and of which even fairly accurate descriptions are available, those of Fiji seem to be closest in type to those of Tonga. I do not mean to include all Tongan and all Fijian structures in such a comparison, but the platform tomb with slab vault occurs in both Tonga and Fiji, as do less important structures and a great many technical processes and resultant effects involved in the stone mason's art. At present there is no way of determining whether the art of masonry was carried from Tonga to Fiji, or contrawise, although it is highly probable that each profited from the ideas of the other during later stages of development. A strong cultural connection cannot be denied. The abrupt, initial occurrence of stone masonry, in a highly developed stage, during the reign of Tui Tatui, as indicated by native tradition, suggests an introduction at that time of the art into Tonga from some outside source; the same traditions definitely describe a Fijian intrusion at that time. A study of the stone structures of Tonga tends to support the general truth of these traditions to a remarkable degree.

There is little similarity between the dressed stone structures of Samoa, such as they exist, and those of either Tonga or Fiji, in spite of the close cultural and racial ties connecting Tonga and Samoa. A few, rather superior Samoan structures were probably built by the Tongans during a period of Tongan political dominance over her larger relative. Excluding these structures from consideration, Samoan masonry was peculiarly different from the more highly developed stone craft of Tonga. A basic majority of the culture traits of Tonga appear to have had their immediate origin in Samoa, which was certainly settled long before Tonga. Tongan and Samoan traditions both name Samoa as the ancestral home of the Tongans. From this it seems reasonably clear that Tongan masonry had a source different from that of Tongan basic culture.

172 171 764 [333] The burial mound, as it occurs in Tonga, is not a characteristic feature of Samoa. In Fiji it occurs as a common form of burial place. The mound appears to have been the prototype from which the platform and pyramid tombs were developed. This, again, indicates Fiji as the probable source of Tongan stone work.

172 171 333 [501] It may be argued that the art of masonry was more highly developed in Tonga than in Fiji, and is more likely to have originated in the country of its higher development. However, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. The Tongans are historically known to have discarded their own large sailing vessel, the *tungiaki*, and to have adopted the superior Fijian *ndrua*. In the course of one generation the Tongans were not only building *kalia*, a *ndrua* type of vessel superior to the Fijian product, but were actually

172 being employed by the Fijians to build vessels (17). A similar specializa-
171 tion in stone work, under the encouragement of a favorable political state,
333 might in the same way have produced a technique superior to that of the
501 place from which the craft was introduced.

The importance of Fijian influence over Tongan culture is apparent in
172 aspects other than that of masonry. The fortifications of Tonga were less
171 like those of Samoa than like those of Fiji. Tongan pottery is certainly
[712] Fijian in origin and basic type; Samoa had no pottery. Tongan burial methods
were much more like those of Fiji than of Samoa. The Tongan language
[323] has borrowed a considerable number of Fijian terms. This list of Fijian
[764] elements intrusively present in the culture of Tonga might be carried to a
[192] tedious length.

There is nothing extraordinary in the tendency of Tonga to drift, cul-
172 turally, farther away from Samoa and closer to Fiji. The Samoans were
171 relatively peaceful; the Fijians were warlike. Tonga, possibly under the
648 influence of its political solidarity, became a power at war, and the mingled
admiration and sympathy of its young men of social prominence went to Fiji rather than to Samoa. Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty wars to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains. Aside from this, Samoa was a land of people and things similar to those of Tonga; Fiji was a land of strange people and strange customs. The spirit of curiosity and adventure, so apparent in the Tongan, attracted him to the new and strange rather than to the more familiar and less exciting. He felt the lure
[501] of the unfamiliar, the enchantment of the strange land. The fact that Fiji
possessed a type of sailing vessel far superior to any in either Tonga or Samoa, and the necessity for Tonga, with its hundred and more scattered islands, to survive as a political unit only through a mastery of sea craft, may have had an important bearing on the close cultural relationship which sprang up between the two countries.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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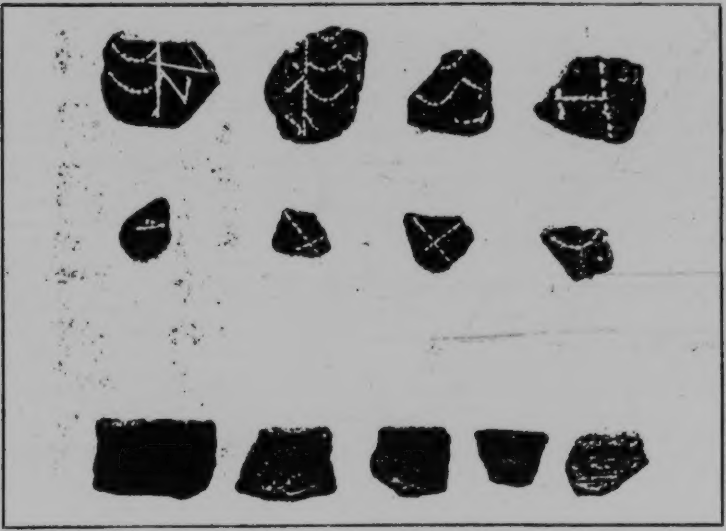

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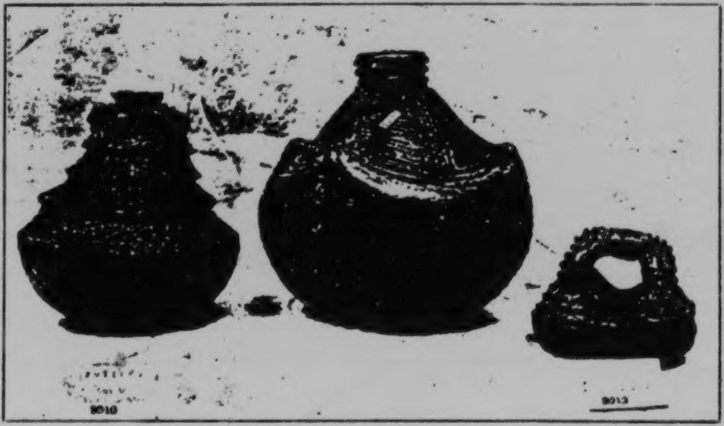

B

[128] *A*, POTSHERDS TAKEN FROM SITES IN TONGATABU, THE TOP TWO ROWS SHOW INCISED DECORATIONS (PAINTED WHITE TO FACILITATE PHOTOGRAPHY); THE BOTTOM ROW SHOWS RIM PIECES; *B*, FIJIAN POTTERY OF THE EINER TYPE, SHOWING SHAPE, INCISED AND MODELED DECORATIONS, AND VARNISHED SURFACES.

[End Plate 6]

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

805 three generations since this happened" or "It occurred when my father's father was a child."

A general word for long ago, ancient times, is *onoaho*, as *onoponi* is used for recent time, the present age. There are several expressions for remote antiquity, as, *Hau o Momo* (when Momo was king), *Hau o Tuitatui* (when Tuitatui was king), *Hau o Muni Matamahae* (when Muni of the Torn Eye was king), *Hau o Motuku Veevalu* (when Motuku Veevalu, literally Eight-legged, was king). There are of course other words meaning uncountable, long enduring, which may be used to express the same idea of remotest antiquity.

SEASONS AND MONTHS

The Tongan year is said to have begun at about the same time as the Christian year, though no satisfactory explanation is given. [171] Gill[11] states that the Mangaians begin their year about the middle of December, the point of departure being marked by the appearance of the Pleiades on the eastern horizon just after sunset. This or some similar astronomical phenomenon may possibly have determined the beginning of the Tongan year.

[821] [132] The two broad divisions of the year, in one of which the days and nights are cooler than in the other, were recognized and used to classify seasons. 805 824 825 Close observation of the habits of plants and of animals provided a basis for more exact division. The times when certain trees cast their leaves, flowered, or bore fruit were utilized in making the calendar, as were also the periods when particular fish appeared. 805 244 The greatest importance attaches to the various stages of the growth of the yam. A large part of the nomenclature of the moons is based on seasonal changes observed in this plant.

805 The normal year consisted of twelve months, though some years had thirteen. The nomenclature is largely agricultural, but there seems no reason to doubt the statement that the names were applied to the moons. The months and the commonly received explanations of their names are as follows:

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[113] [11] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Pacific, p. 317, London, 1876.

000 Outrigger. On the port side six booms connect with the float in typical manner (fig. 177, *a*), with the addition of a strengthening withy brace attached on one side of each set of connectives. This withy runs obliquely upward and inward from its distal attachment near or to the lower end of one of the inner stanchion connectives to be lashed to the boom at a point well inside of the attachment of the upper end of the same stanchion. (See fig. 179, *c*.)

A stringer is lashed fore and aft over the booms and under it are lashed the outer ends of six short pseudo-booms which do not connect with the float.

The booms are lashed upon the edges of the washstrakes with the attachment further strengthened on each side by an oblique sennit brace lashed above around the boom outside of the hull, and below through holes in the side of the dugout underbody. As the offside washstrake is slightly higher than that on the outrigger side, the booms slant downward toward the float; this enables the stanchions to be made shorter than if the booms were horizontal.

Rig. Each of the two masts is stepped in a socket in a circular boss on the bottom of the underbody and of one piece with it.

Formerly each mast was lashed against the after side of one of the booms, but today it passes through a median hole in a stout thwart lashed to the gunwales. The fore mast is stepped well forward and immediately abaft the foremost boom, the second mast behind the fourth boom.

This sailing canoe is used only within the lagoon and is said to load three tons of copra.

TECHNICAL TERMS

Aioka: withy brace to attachment.
Ama: float, outrigger side of canoe.
Ekengaulu: large double canoe.
Iekelima: large outrigger (five-man canoe).
Kaukau: outrigger boom.
Katea: off or starboard side.
Kiato: stringer across booms (the usual Polynesian term for "boom").
La: sail.
Mua vaka: forward end of canoe.
Muli vaka: after end of canoe.
Oa: washstrake.
'Oe: paddle.
Puke: forward end cover.
Talamoko: diamond-shaped boss on end cover.
Tata: bailer.
Tau ama: outrigger stay.
Tila: mast.
Tila lalo: boom of sail.
Tila lunga: yard of sail.
Tukuku mua: fore stay.
Tukuku muli: after stay.
Tutuki: stanchion connective.
Vaka: canoe or hull.
Vakalua: double canoe.
Velo: after end cover.
Wawa: sheet.

For the foregoing particulars of the Pukapukan canoe I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Gordon Macgregor, ethnologist of the Templeton Crocker Expedition.

TONGAN ARCHIPELAGO

501 At the present time the only surviving sea craft of indigenous origin in Tonga are numerous small dugouts (*bobao* and *tuingutu*) used in inshore fishing and a few plank-built sea-going canoes (*tafa'anga*) employed exclusively in the bonito [171] fishery. All are provided with single outriggers having indirect attachment; the small dugouts are in general more roughly constructed than their Samoan equivalents, the *paopao* and the *soatau*. The *tafa'anga* is the counterpart, save in outrigger attachment, of the Samoan *va'a alo*. Larger vessels were formerly numerous [178] but all are now non-existent. They comprise the following:

1. The ancient *vaka* type of voyaging outrigger canoe in use before intercourse with Fiji in the latter part of the eighteenth century caused its displacement by:
2. The modern *vaka* or *hamatafua*, a large and stoutly built sailing outrigger canoe, constructed on the lines of the Fijian *thamakau*.
3. The *tongiaki*, a double canoe of the same type as the Samoan *va'a tele*.
4. The *kalia*, a double canoe of Fijian origin and design which displaced the *tongiaki* during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Another extinct type is the *vaka-vaka-amei*, an antique float or raft of peculiar design.

between 12 and 15 inches. (See fig. 180.) There are indications of a definite 501 head and stern, one end being sharp or bluntly wedge-shaped, the other roughly pointed, characteristics also of Samoan and Tahitian hulls. The ends are solid for a distance of several inches.

The outrigger consists of two straight booms, projecting outboard on the port side 5 to 7 feet, and commonly connected with the float (*hama*) by U-shaped withies (*tukituki*). The float is cylindrical; in the smallest canoes it is pointed at both ends, in the larger only at the fore end, the other being truncate. As in Samoa the fore, free part extends well forward, though not quite to a level with the head; the after end, behind its attachment to the boom, is short.

The U type of connective, characteristic particularly of the *bobao*, consists of a pair of tough flexible withies to each boom, each withy bent into a deep bow or U shape, the limbs spread from 8 to 10 inches apart in the *bobao* and about 12 inches or more in the *tuingutu* (fig. 181).

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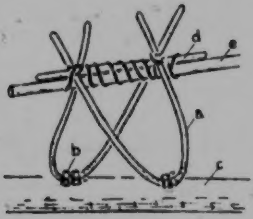

FIGURE 181.—Double U-shaped outrigger attachment, Tonga: each withy (*a*) lashed at its base to two pegs (*b*) driven into float (*c*); horizontal cross bar (*d*) tied under crossed arms of withies; end of boom (*e*) then slipped under cross bar and the two lashed together by several turns of cord or sennit (Vavao, 1925)

The bent base of each withy is secured to the upper side of the float by lashing passed around two short, stout pegs driven abreast into the float. One of the pair of withies is attached to the float some inches forward of the axis of its boom, the other at an equal distance on the after side. The pegs to which the withies are lashed project about 2 inches; the heads are slightly swollen.

The limbs of each U are turned obliquely upward, inclining toward those of the opposite pair, with the result that the upper ends of the two withies cross one another. To keep them in position, a short rod of *toa* (*Casuarina*) is inserted as a brace immediately beneath their decussation and lashed thereto in this position. To make connection with a boom, the outer end of this is slipped under the bracing rod and made fast with sennit lashing. [283]

This accessory device is of service when the outrigger frame has to be partially 501 dismantled: all that is necessary is to unlash the braces from the booms; the float with its connectives held together by the braces may then be removed from attachment to the booms without disturbance of the various parts. Reassemblage can also be effected in a fraction of the time that otherwise would be necessary. In no [171] other Pacific area does this device exist.

Exceptional forms of float attachment are occasionally found. In Lifuka a very small and roughly made *bobao* was seen in which the connection was by means of paired straight stanchions of the type characteristic of the *tuingutu* (fig. 180, *a*). Another in the same island had a mixed connection, the after boom having the paired U connection, the forward one the paired stanchion form.

A third attachment is found on the great shallow backwater lagoon in Tongatabu, where there are in use a few rude dugouts of such low freeboard that direct

501 attachment is possible, the outer ends of the two light bamboo booms being lashed directly to the float; such craft are readily improvised when the occasion requires.

Early in the nineteenth century the *bobao* was more carefully constructed, according to the description and figures furnished by Paris (1841, pt. 1, p. 123, pl. 122, figs. 12-14). Unlike the present-day *bobao* the dugout underbody had fairly long end covers roughly sewn on, together with a low washstrake and transverse breakwaters protecting the open waist. The ends were similar and bluntly pointed. Across the washstrakes were lashed the inner ends of three outrigger booms; the outer or end booms were attached to the float by means of two pairs of convergent overcrossed stanchions, and the median one was supported by a single vertical stanchion. No cord brace was employed, if the figure may be trusted. As [565] drawn, the float, like the hull, was pointed at each end (fig. 182). Paris remarks that the rounded hulls "were neither polished nor rubbed with oil and appeared to be used only by the lower classes of the population". Its length seldom exceeded 5 meters. This old type of *bobao* is intermediate in design between the existing degenerate type and the larger sailing one, the *tuingutu*.

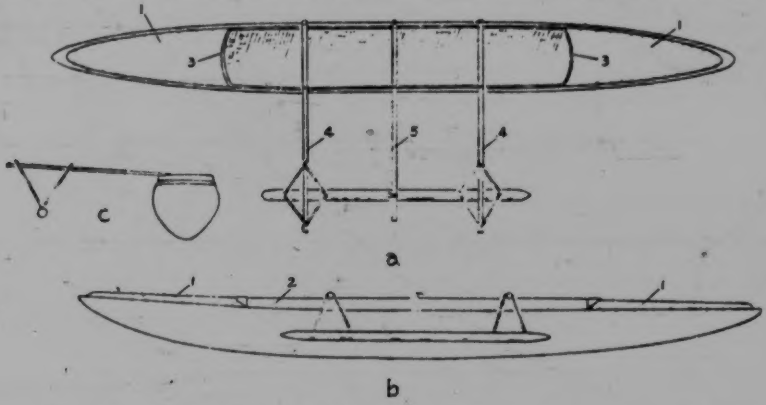

FIGURE 182.—Tongan *bobao* of ancient type: *a*, plan; *b*, side view; *c*, cross section, showing boom tilted upward slightly in its outboard section as in Samoan canoes; 1, end covers; 2, washstrake; 3, curved breakwaters; 4, outer boom attached to float by two pairs of converging overcrossed stanchions; 5, median boom, connected by one upright stanchion (after D'Urville, 1846).

TUINGUTU

The *tuingutu* has also a dugout hull. Being a larger and more valuable craft and adaptable for sailing as well as paddling, greater attention is paid to the finish. (See fig. 183.)

> [171] The two ends are more carefully shaped and approximate more closely to the equivalent Samoan form, the *sōatau*, the sharp fore end often with a distinct though slight concavity in the cutwater as seen in side view, the stern running to a point, and in a few canoes ending in a downturned subtriangular knob, useful when tying the canoe up, and of exactly the same shape as seen in the better-finished of Samoan canoes. There are the same rounded bottom and [283] tumble-home sides as in the *bobao*, but here a narrow washstrake, 5 to 6 inches wide, is sewn on with sennit, each pair of holes separately sewn and all the holes plugged with wooden pins. A batten of split bamboo is inserted on the outside along the joint under the stitches.

501 [283] They rest upon the edges of the washstrakes, to which they are lashed by sennit or by cord passing through, usually, one hole a little below the gunwale.

The float varies considerably in shape and relative length; in the smaller or paddling canoes it is cylindrical, the fore end conical, the after one truncate; in the larger, which are frequently used under sail, it is roughly canoe-shaped, flat above, rounded below, and with the ends sliced away on each side and from below to a point.

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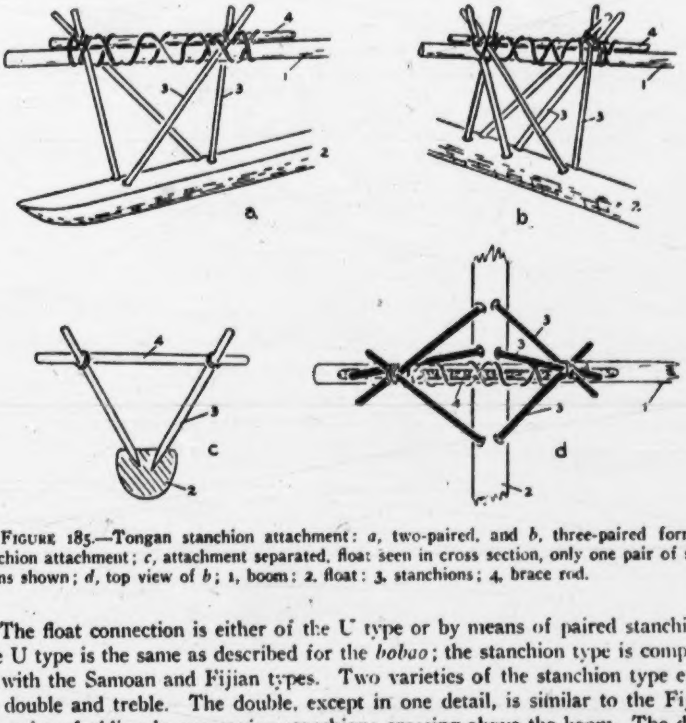

FIGURE 185.—Tongan stanchion attachment: *a*, two-paired, and *b*, three-paired form of stanchion attachment; *c*, attachment separated, float seen in cross section, only one pair of stanchions shown; *d*, top view of *b*; 1, boom; 2, float; 3, stanchions; 4, brace rod.

501 [171] The float connection is either of the U type or by means of paired stanchions. The U type is the same as described for the *bobao*; the stanchion type is comparable with the Samoan and Fijian types. Two varieties of the stanchion type exist, the double and treble. The double, except in one detail, is similar to the Fijian, two pairs of obliquely converging stanchions crossing above the boom. The detail in which it differs is the use of an intermediate and horizontal brace stick, about 2 feet long (fig. 185), to which the heads of the stanchions are directly lashed prior to the lashing of the brace in turn to the end of the outrigger boom; this is the same device as that employed in conjunction with the attachment of the U connectives in the *bobao*. In the treble variety an additional pair of stanchions is present; these two extra stanchions, which are inserted close together in the float immediately under one side of the boom, diverge upward from this point in the plane of the long axis of the boom, to which they are respectively lashed at the same points as are the members of the two other pairs (fig. 185).

The largest *tuinguta* (fig. 183) was 30.5 feet long, the beam outside at the gunwale 13 inches, at the bilge 20 inches; depth of dugout hull 15.5 inches; width of washstrake 5.5 inches, a total depth of 21 inches; length of float 16 feet 9 inches; distance of float from gunwale 6 feet; booms three, attached 14.4 inches above the float; arms of U connectives 12 inches apart where lashed to the booms; booms 4 feet 6 inches apart; fore boom 69 inches aft of prow; after boom 75 inches forward of stern. 501 The fore end of the float projected 31 inches in front of the first boom, the after end 18 inches behind the third boom.

TAFA'ANGA

Among the most elegant of Pacific outriggers, a few Tongan *tafa'anga* are known to have survived on the windward side (*liku*) of Tongatabu into the present century; in 1925 I saw the outrigger of one that was still in use at a village near the Haamonga trilithon, so the type is not yet extinct. A fine model of one 501 now in the Cambridge Anthropological Museum is of great historical as well as 114 ethnological value, for Thomson, who presented it, states in letters that it was made in 1891 by King George Tubou I when he was over 90, partly with his own hands and partly under his direct supervision. Thompson adds that the king was a great canoeman in his youth, and records (1894, p. 343) that "none could handle a *tafa'anga* laden with fish in a seaway as he". Thompson states that all the old men who saw it declared it to be accurate in every detail, yet an error has crept in, the arms of the U connectives crossing under the boom, an arrangement seen in none of the numerous canoes examined in 1925; in these, as also in Thomson's illustration (1894, p. 343), the arms invariably cross above the boom. The model has every appearance of having had its outrigger parts detached and subsequently reassembled after leaving Tonga; this would account for the discrepancy.

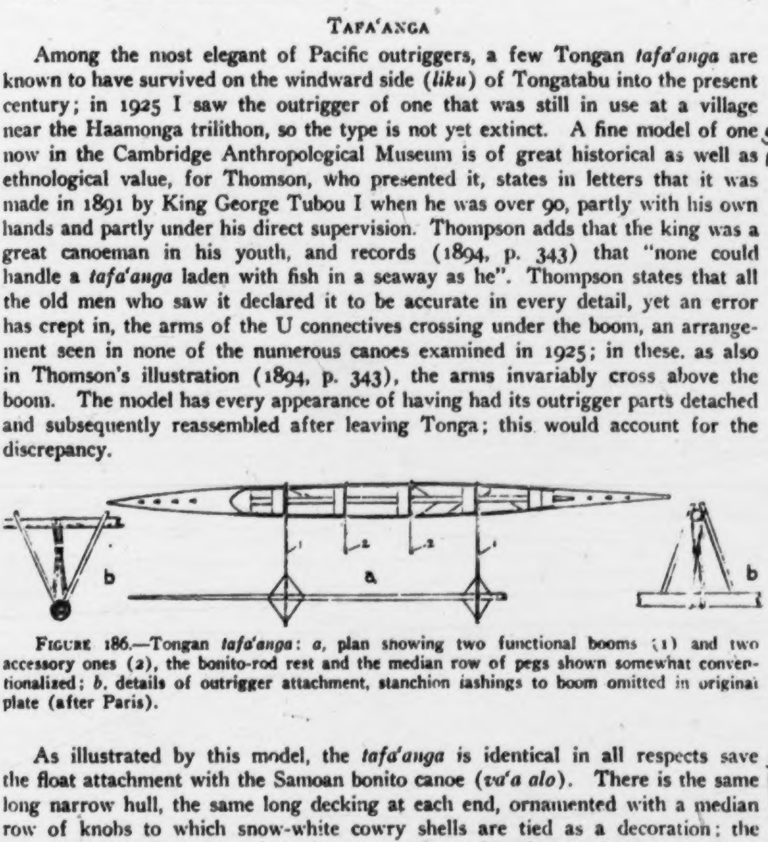

FIGURE 186.—Tongan *tafa'anga*: *a*, plan showing two functional booms (1) and two accessory ones (2), the bonito-rod rest and the median row of pegs shown somewhat conventionalized; *b*, details of outrigger attachment, stanchion lashings to boom omitted in original plate (after Paris).

As illustrated by this model, the *tafa'anga* is identical in all respects save 501 the float attachment with the Samoan bonito canoe (*va'a alo*). [171] There is the same long narrow hull, the same long decking at each end, ornamented with a median row of knobs to which snow-white cowry shells are tied as a decoration; the arrangement and number of the booms (two) are identical, as is also the fitting for the great bonito rod behind the aftermost thwart. There is also present a short median accessory boom, a pseudo-boom, not connected with the float. But in the float attachment the paired U type characteristic of the small dugout outriggers of Vavao and Haapai takes the place of the Samoan inserted stanchion type.

It appears, however, that the Samoan type of attachment was formerly employed, [171] for in the figures of a "tafahanga de Tongatabou" given by Paris (1841, pl. 122) the details of both the hull and the outrigger are precisely those of the Samoan *va'a alo*; the attachment is identical, consisting as it does of two pairs of obliquely running inserted stanchions and a vertical cord brace passed around the float (fig. 186). In figures of the same type of Tongan vessel given by Cook (1777, pls. 16, 43), attachment is again shown quite distinctly as consisting of

501 [171] inserted stanchions, but the cord brace is omitted. Such evidence indicates that the *tafa'anga* was originally identical with the Samoan *va'a alo* and that the attachment was of the inserted stanchion type; it suggests that the attachment has been modified into the existing U type at a comparatively recent date.

175 501 It was probably a *tafa'anga* which Tasman, in 1643, saw put off from the land with three men in it. He describes it (1898, p. 26) as a small prow "very narrow, covered in to a good distance in front and abaft". Another canoe (1898, p. 27), seen later, had "the outriggers trimmed with shells and conchs", from which embellishments Tasman judged it to belong to the king or chief of the country. In the same drawing in which a double canoe under sail is the central figure, Tasman gives the figure of a paddling outrigger which is unmistakably a *tafa'anga*; all the features, down to the backwardly inclined bonito rod in position behind the steersman, identify it with certainty. Two booms, the correct number, project from the port side; the attachment of each is by two pairs of stanchions and not by U withies (fig. 190). The only other marked divergences from the existing design, allowing for the crudity of the drawing, are the absence of an accessory pseudo-boom and of the row of knobs down the center of the end deckings. It is worthy of note that Cook also does not show a pseudo-boom in his plan of the same kind of craft figured in his scaled drawings (1777, Atlas, pl. 16), and as some of the canoes met with during his visits were without egg-cowry decoration Tasman's figure may be correct in this omission. The remarkable accuracy of Tasman's details, so far as they are to be seen, goes far to inspire confidence in the artist's delineation of the larger Tongan vessel, the *tongiaki* (double canoe).

Cook had great praise for the Tongan canoe builders. Of his first visit in 1773 he writes (1777, vol. 1, p. 125):

> Nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz., double and single . . . The single ones [*tafa'anga*] are from 20 to 30 feet long and about 20 or 22 inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one third of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all outriggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle.

Cook's figures show the float attachment to be of the stanchion type; no cord brace is present, neither is there a pseudo-boom.

Forster suggests that the islanders took the bonito and albacore as their model in designing the hulls of their canoes, and that the row of pegs along the center of the deckings represents the finlets along the tail of these fishes (1777, vol. 1, p. 461).

A larger *tafa'anga*, the equivalent of the Samoan dolphin canoe, also existed, but the sole record of it is the figure in an aquatint by Webber, Cook's artist on his third voyage. The outrigger canoe in the foreground (fig. 193) has a hull larger but otherwise similar to that of a *tafa'anga* and with a bonito rest conspicious on the fore part of the after decking. The larger size of the canoe has entailed several notable additions to the *tafa'anga* design; the number of booms is increased to four, a balance spar is added, and mast and sail are carried. The

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 The underbody, the hull proper, is without sheer, and is pointed and decked over at each end; in the median section, extending for considerably more than one third the length of the hull, a deep washstrake is fitted on each side, supporting seven athwart beams which project far out on the port side and to a short distance on the starboard side. To their outer ends on the port side a float is attached by pairs of convergent stanchions in the Samoan and Fijian fashion; the float is flat above, round-pointed in front and truncate behind. A wide planked platform is lashed upon the booms where they cross the hull. At both ends it projects beyond its supports, and on each side it also projects outboard some little distance. Two spars at each end connect the pointed end of the hull with each of the adjacent corners of the platform. [171] (In the Fijian *thamakau* there is one only of these connecting spars at each end, both upon the lee side.) No deck fittings are shown. Down the center of the platform a wide continuous hatchway opens into the body of the vessel, exactly similar in position to the long hatch over each hull in the contemporaneous double canoe (*tongiaki*).

The mast is short and vertical, fitted behind the first boom and well forward of the midlength of the hull; probably it was stepped upon one of the booms. Two shrouds pass on the weather side from below the masthead to a stringer lashed athwart the three median booms a few feet outboard; a forestay runs from the same point to the pointed head. No indication is given of a sheet, and halyards were unnecessary. The sail, triangular in shape, is laced or tied along the fore side to a stout curved yard, the foot being similarly fastened to a boom which is shown in the drawing as somewhat lighter than the yard. Instead of being hoisted by means of a halyard, the yard at about midlength rests in a deep fork at the masthead. [175] This unusual arrangement is confirmed by Cook when describing the rig of the *tongiaki*; it is an arrangement clumsy and dangerous in the extreme and it reflects ill on the ingenuity [177] of the Tongan sailors that they did not find any better way of hoisting their sail until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when they adopted without modification the highly efficient method used by the Fijians. In Tasman's figure the heel of the yard is stepped on the fore decking between the two spars passing from the prow to the fore corners of the platform.

This type of canoe appears to have borne the same relation to its successor, the *vaka* or *hamatafua*, as the old Tongan double canoe did to the *kalia*; both this canoe and the *tongiaki* represent primitive and unhandy craft that gave place to improved types borrowed without alteration or improvement from the Fijians.

VAKA OR HAMATAFUA

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501
A voyaging canoe (*vaka* or *hamatafua*) built after the still-existing Fijian design of the *thamakau* displaced an older and indigenous type soon after the time when intercourse between Tonga and Fiji began to be active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Little information survives regarding its details except a colored figure (D'Urville, Atlas, 1833, pl. 78) and several line drawings (Paris, 1841, pls. 119, 121, fig. 10). The figures by Paris represent what is unmistakabably a copy of a finer type of Fijian *thamakau* than any now existing.

The hull remained much the same as in the older type, but the median platform, instead of projecting equally on each side, extended farther over the outrigger framing on the weather side and the long hatchway became two short ones in order to permit the mast to be stepped between them, immediately over the weather gunwale, and exactly amidships (fig. 188). On the weather side of this, partly over the outrigger frame, an elaborate form of thatched hut was erected, with an open stage and railing above its roof to accommodate the chief and his principal officers; various parts of the framework were adorned with egg-cowry shells.

Of the outrigger booms, three only were connected with the float, the attachment being by paired convergent stanchions; the greater number of the booms failed to extend outboard as far as the float, and became accessory booms functioning solely as supports for the deck platform. Spar struts connecting the ends of the hull with the corners of the platform were present only on the lee side as in the *thamakau*.

From the *thamakau* the design differed in only one particular: the two ends were similar and each was brought to a sharp point instead of one end being deep and sharp, to form a vertical cutwater, the other running fine to a small, ovately truncate extremity a few inches in diameter. Whether Paris is correct in showing the ends similar and sharp-pointed can not now be decided. He depicts the Tongan double canoes of the *kalia* design as having similarly sharp-pointed hulls, which is correct neither for the Fijian *thamakau* and *ndrua* nor for models of Tongan double canoes found in museums, which agree in this and other details with the

501 177 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans [181] and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U ATTACHMENT

Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type [184] prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employ- 501 171 ment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New [484] Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 501 177 178 54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settlements in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga.

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date: there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anga* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

501 178 [171] Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U attachment.

501 171 177 On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *orembai* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands: in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the float by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source.

The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

501 175 [178] [177] The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* (Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook himself exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each.

Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tafahi (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

> [284] [The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were secured upon the edges [one on each side]; across these [washstrakes] small beams were laid [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. [285] Toward the fore part of the starboard hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail: this was of matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . . [283] Their cordage was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.]

Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

> [171] The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *va'a-alo* aboard

175 a *va'a tele*, their equivalent of the *tongiaki*, when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.] . . . The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few
501 ships in Holland that could overhaul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the
[171] stern, one for each canoe.

175 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined.
501 This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462),
285 after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150
531 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".

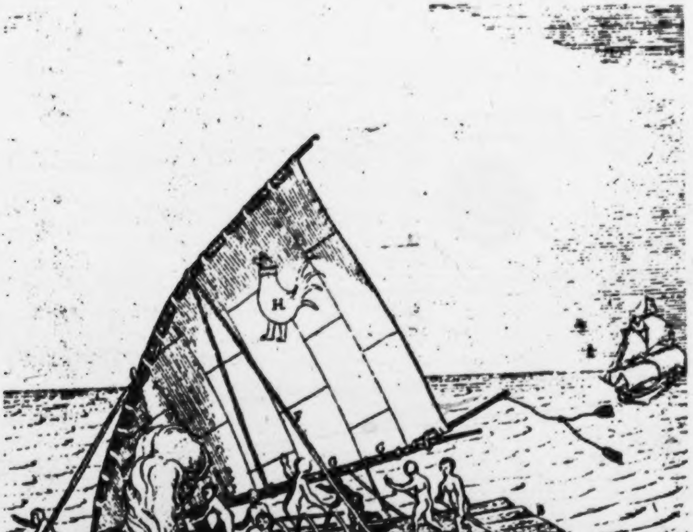

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FIGURE 189.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643),
501 this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal to the illustration of one under full sail (1898, fig. 2); another drawing shows two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

175 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely
501 different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously
501 difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat
[538] to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very
502 largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of
[484] several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind
> [484] changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

501 According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haa-
505 monga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922. p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the
[175] royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

KALIA

175 Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different
177 from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to
501 acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their
[171] smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later
[484] the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

the identical form, indeed, that they had in the older type, the *tongiaki*. Whether 175
Paris' figures are correct in this particular is uncertain; in details his figures 177
sometimes show minor inaccuracies, though as already stated there probably was 501
a transitional period when old *tongiaki* hulls were adapted to the new design borrowed from Fiji. A model which I saw being made in Lifuka in 1925 for the [467]
Prince Consort by an old Tongan carpenter had the Fijian form of head and stern, and the builder, who was reputedly 93 years of age and the last survivor of the old carpenters' guild, asserted that such was the normal and correct shape.

Another difference to be noted is that Paris figures the heel of yard as stepped in a hole at the extreme end of the hull (fig. 188, *a*, *7*), instead of lashed against an angular ridge socket not quite so far forward. As Krämer (1902-3, vol. 2, p. 258) shows the heel of the yard in the Samoan *'alia* to be stepped similarly (fig. 171), the probability is that this particular difference in design did exist in Tonga as well as in Samoa.

The double canoe has long been extinct in Tonga, longer indeed than in Samoa, 501
but occasionally, as in Hawaii and Tahiti, two small dugout hulls are temporarily [171]
joined together at some few feet apart by two cross booms lashed athwart the gunwales. One of these is seen in a photograph taken from the "Albatross" in 1899, as she lay in Vavao Harbor (U.S. National Museum negative no. 40181). It is noteworthy that the *bobao* hulls are connected head to stern, as in the double canoes of Manihiki.

TECHNICAL TERMS

According to the old carpenter in Lifuka, many of the principal terms for the 192
various parts were common to Fiji and Tonga, either the same or with the sub- 501
stitution of Tongan words for Fijian when these were descriptive. The more important of these in the two languages are the following (Fijian in parentheses):

Fana (vana): mast.
Fohe (vothe): paddle.
Fohe uli (vothe uli): steering paddle.
Fohe-lahi-matau (?): starboard steering paddle; literally the "large right-side paddle".
Fohe-i-hama (?): left side steering paddle.
Fono (vono): strake or run of planking.
Fono tabu (vono tambu): garboard strake.
Fono bajini vaka (vono laulalo): strake above garboard strake (*bajini*, a necklace made of whale's teeth).
Fono ngutu vaka (vono mbati ni wangga): topmost strake (*mbati*, the mouth, i.e. the open well of the hull).
Hama (thama): the smaller hull.
Hua (sua): scull.
Katea (kata): the larger hull.
Kiato (kaso): cross boom.
La (lathe): sail.
Takele (takele): basal or keel region.
Taumua (taumua levu): fore end or decking.
Taumuli (taumua lailai): after end or decking.
Toko (ndoko): poling stick or quant.
Tomotomo (ndomondomo): topmast.
Tuku (tuku): running fore and back stays of mast, also as a verb, "to slacken" or "to let go".
Vilinga hua (?): sculling hole in platform.

RAFTS

A persistent tradition prevails in Tonga to the effect that in former times rafts 501
were employed in navigation. According to information given by Havea, the name *vakavaka-amei* was applied to this primitive kind of craft. He describes it as a shaped raft with side logs boomed out after the fashion of a double outrigger. He states that his father told him that he had seen a small one made of three logs: the median one was longer than the two lateral ones, which were separated from the median by a space, the whole being kept in position by several poles (*kiato*) laid athwart the three logs and lashed thereto. In larger examples it is said that there was more than one log on each side. Probably if more logs were employed

501 the space between the central log and the original two lateral ones would be filled in. The timber used in construction may have been that of the breadfruit tree (*mei*). Havea says that these rafts had some sort of a raised platform on which the crew and passengers sat. They were propelled by paddles, or sometimes by [505] means of a sail. According to some of the old people these rafts were used even for journeys between Tonga and Samoa; they also held that it was by rafts and not by double canoes that the huge sepulchral monoliths required in the building of the royal langis were transported.

The Prince Consort, when discussing this subject with me, confirmed the statement that rafts were formerly in use in Tonga; his grandfather, King George I. had assured him that rafts were the first sea craft used in Tonga. His description, however, was that they were formed out of two great bundles of bamboos, held apart and connected by several cross spars (*kiato*).

[171] Havea's account of this raft, after making due allowance for inaccuracies in detail in a description furnished by a person who had never seen the object he describes, points definitely to the former existence of a Tongan sea craft akin to or possibly identical with the sailing catamaran of Mangareva figured and described by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 105) and closely related to the large river rafts still in active use in Fiji. The specific statement that it was used to maintain intercourse with Samoa is particularly interesting in view of the old Samoan myth, mentioned elsewhere, which claims that rafts were in use there prior to the introduction of canoes.

The variations found in the several accounts make it clear, however, that tradition cannot be relied upon for details; all that can be reasonably certain is that rafts were in use at an early period in the history of these islands and that they were probably employed in interisland communication.

NIUE

000 Niue, named "Savage Island" by Cook, owing to the fierce hostility of the natives on the occasion of his landing in 1774, is about 30 miles in circumference. It is relatively populous, for the soil is fertile and flying fishes abound in the sea. Owing to the absence of any lagoon, the fringing reef surrounding it makes it impossible to use canoes of a size larger than can be hauled to land over the reef in rough weather. For what the Niue canoes lack in size, their numbers compensate; on every dark night the torches of little fleets of canoes spangle the sea off the leeward coast with dancing lights.

OUTRIGGER CANOES

Cook (1777) describes the canoes which he saw as

> . . . precisely like those of Amsterdam Island [Tongatabu], with the addition of a little rising on each side of the open part; and [they] had some carving about them, which showed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the description M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isles of Navigators [Samoa], which lie nearly under the same meridian.

The only canoes the islanders now possess are dugout fishing outriggers of small size. The largest, which accommodate four persons (*vaka heke fa*), do not exceed 25 feet in length, with a depth of 18 to 24 inches; the majority, paddled by one man, and with room for not more than two, are much smaller, ranging from 17 to 20 feet long (fig. 194). Formerly six-seated canoes (*vaka heke ono*) were built, but these were rare (Loeb, 1926, p. 91).

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 We found, upon our return, that our friends in the vessel had not been idle, in our absence, they had actively amused themselves in fishing, and during the day, had caught seven sharks.

Proceeding forwards about four days, at noon, we
came in sight of Savage Island, so called by Captain
Cook, on account of the barbarous appearance and
171 behaviour of the natives. Having little wind, we
did not come near it till night; but, through the
313 dark, we discovered many of the natives with lights
416 in their hands, fishing. These lights, as I afterwards
824 found, when I came to Tongataboo, are a kind of
torch, which they call Tomais, made from the bark
of the cocoa-nut tree, which, every year, grows up
with the young stem, as it rises from the old stock;
and as the new stem increases, it separates from it,
like the husk from the fruit.

These bark leaves, (if I may so term them) are of an aromatic unctuous nature, and rising from the tree, to the length of two or three feet, very well serve, when bound together, to supply the place of a torch. The inhabitants of the Southern Islands carry them by night, to the sea; as the light proves an excellent decoy to attract the fish, which they then easily catch with a small net.

000 As soon as we discovered the lights, the Captain ordered the ship-bell to be rung; immediately the lights vanished; but in a quarter of an hour they again appeared. If it had been day, we should

swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet 181
young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or 823
seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are 868
often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended [861]
toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself
provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, [171]
by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other 178
aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for 287
example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts 178
of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or 252
the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the [415]
simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest
in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the [177]
villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan
food according to these older methods. Whatever variety 178
there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes 177
from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures 262
of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

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It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

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It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

The experience of Hawaii, New Zealand, Tonga, and 797
Fiji, goes to teach us that the active life of Christian 171
missions in the South Seas is from fifty to seventy years. A mission was founded in New Zealand by Mr Marsden in 1814. The missionaries, being men of a lower class than those who laboured in Polynesia, used their opportunities for acquiring private property in land, a fact that, among a people so earth-hungry as the Polynesians, may have precipitated the crisis. Hauhauism, that strange compound of Christianity and paganism, broke out in 1865, and finally quenched the spark of life that remained to the mission after the war.

The mission in Tonga, founded in 1822 by Mr Lawry, and shattered by the dissensions of 1887, enjoyed an active life of sixty-five years. The Wesleyan mission in Fiji, founded in 1837, is already showing evident signs of decay. I do not allude to the practice of *Tuka* (Immortality), a pagan cult curiously like Hauhauism, which was put down by the Government in 1887, and has since reappeared at intervals, but to that general inanition that has proved fatal to the Church in Tonga. Nor is this surprising when one remembers upon how slender a base most of these conversions rest. A vast majority of Tongans and Fijians embraced Christianity because, for political reasons, it suited their chiefs to do so. One who was 000
present at the conversion of an entire tribe in Fiji once gave me an account of the ceremony. A great feast was made for the missionary, who took his seat by the side of the chief. The heathen priest, taking a kava root in his hand, thus addressed the ancestor-gods: "This is the paltry feast which we, your poverty-stricken children,

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

175 It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten 000
lines, and in all these there were but two differences of
one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of 349
their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who 342
build their houses and temples of materials no more en-
during than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described 349
by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the 764
Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge 643
blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of [71]
20 feet. From the account left to us by the first missionaries of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year, force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is
almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of [784]
Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but
I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu*
is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was,
that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed [769]
to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor. When this happened, the people reverently cleared the whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely described by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 and there was great rejoicing, for there were no hogs in the island. And from this sow was the whole island replenished."

231 177 192 Some writers have remarked upon the Polynesian word for pig—*puaka* or *vuaka*—as being a proof that the pigs were first introduced by the Portuguese. There are, however, other words of Melanesian origin for the animal in Fiji—*ngō* and *rore*—that show the animal to have been known in the Pacific by others than the Malayo-Polynesians. It is most probable that the name is a mere coincidence, and that the people brought their pigs to the Pacific with them. The name may even be onomatopœic.

231 [136] The pig of the Pacific is long-snouted, humpbacked, lean, and out-at-elbows. He seems to have forgotten such of the decencies as may be traditionary among his civilised cousins, and will eat putrid flesh and other things that are unmentionable. He is, besides, stricken with a deep melancholy, from which neither the sunshine nor the cloud of flies in which he passes his existence can rouse him.

235 [171] Domestic poultry must also have come to the Pacific with the ancestors of the present Polynesians. The Tongan name *moa* and the Fijian *toa* are of course onomatopœic. The Maories, already possessing the word to denote domestic fowls, applied it to the great wingless birds they saw on their arrival in New Zealand; for the *moa* in their eyes was simply a hen on a gigantic scale.

231 177 192 The cat was probably the next arrival, and its native name is proof-positive that it was introduced by a person who called it "pussy," therefore an Englishman. In an

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOT.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa 776
and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a
village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living [171]
Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here
a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua 776
was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their 778
places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [764]
to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but
others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man
was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua
was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means 776
the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king 613
of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the
tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and 776
for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or [825]
post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or
tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end [778]
of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently 793
speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then
evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," 787
using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same
word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [192]
course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those
who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed
as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, 776
and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick [753]
by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred
previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing [842]
in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not
unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

[p. 227]

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been 766
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food. 755

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance [826]
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his
father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to
him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun
was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him
and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his
son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could
be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud
across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a
cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau.
Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at
sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori
Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special 771
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously
killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunungu, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in
Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tunungu is killed but Tonga, sadly
scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion.
The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back
to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tunungu had

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 778 776 [823]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. [782] 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 171

776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

[821] [171] Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jinilau has been mentioned above.

776 825 773 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of [481] Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in 776 773 823 [821] the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

[825] [175] [361] The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

773 wives from the Underworld for the men created by Tangaloa, and who also fished up certain islands. The Tangaloa and Maui myths are of course older than the settlement of any of the Polynesian peoples in their present habitats, but each of the peoples has doubtless woven some of its more recent history into its memory of the ancient common myths. It is interesting to note that in Tongan tradition the Maui get the hook from a chief of Manu'a, in Samoa, named Tonga, and that they come from thence to Tonga.

Dr. Kramer[8] says that the earliest kings of Manu'a
171 bore the title of *Tuimanu'a ma Samoa'atoa*, king of Manu'a
643 and All Samoa, and that " all " indicated, not only Samoa,
773 but surrounding islands as well, such as Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, who all brought tribute to the Tui Manu'a. Especially prominent in the Samoan sagas is Fitiaumua, a great conqueror, who " was said to come from the east, was a great warrior, conquered at Fiji, and in his lust for conquest came to Samoa. He subdued all the leeward islands of the group, reached Manu'a and there he dwelt."[9]

An old saga mentions Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), and Safulusao (Haafuluhao or Vavau in the Tongan Group) as scenes of his warlike exploits.[10] Tongan-mamao is quite probably not the present Tonga, but Niua Fo'ou.

Dr. Kramer's conclusion from the Samoan evidence is
175 that by about the year 1100 the pre-eminence of Manu'a in Samoa had come to an end, and that, moreover, the active traffic that had subsisted between Samoa and the neighbouring groups was diminishing.[11]

A not improbable picture of this part of the Pacific about a thousand years ago seems to be a Polynesian people inhabiting Samoa, Tonga, part of Fiji, and scattered islands, such as Uvea, Niua Fo'ou, and Niua Toputapu. The whole of Fiji may have been occupied by the Polynesians. These people were perhaps more nearly homogeneous than the corresponding populations of to-day.

It is hardy credible that any chief could have acquired the real control of so wide an area, but a general recognition of overlordship by the payment of tribute, especially perhaps by the semi-religious presentation of first-fruits, is

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[8] A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 8.

[9] Turner, Samoa, p. 224 (Macmillan and Company, 1884).

[10] A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 436.

[11] A. Kramer op. cit. Vol. I., pp. 9-10.

EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

By Edward Winslow Gifford.
University of California.

THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protectorate, lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east of Fiji. 131 The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, 161 of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day.

There is no European colonization in progress, for 167 foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by 423 lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important 795 church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen.

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian con- 177 queror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning 171 almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan.

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of 121 examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding.

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legis- 643 lative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected [642] representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen be impossible to depict the air of utter disappointment, mingled with lingering incredulity, which 245 435 the woman's face betrayed, when a large canister 439 of coffee-beans was placed before her, accompanied by an explanation of their true value. Upon inquiry, we leant that she, and her wise lord at home, having heard of the new and valuable plant, secretly obtained one, and after tending it carefully, they thought to make a good thing of it, by taking its first fruits for sale to the Missionary. Considering the poor woman's ignorance, as well as her simplicity, and also the blank disappointment that met her, after such a long journey, we gave her a small present, as an encouragement to further cultivation of the plant, but sent her home with wonderfully altered ideas respecting the costliness of the coffee-bean.

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* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

[p. 281]

The yam, or native *ufi*, (*Dioscorea alata*,) includes 244 a great variety of this most valuable of all the edible roots of the tropics. It is the chief article [262] of vegetable diet raised by the Tonguese; and, probably, it is cultivated in no other region to such high perfection or in such quantity.

The Tonguese do not believe at all in the Fijian [171] practice of putting yam settings into hard and unprepared soil; nor, indeed, are the Fijians themselves uniform in their mode of cultivating the root. The plan adopted in Tonga involves great care and labour, but is rewarded by large crops of the most valuable esculent root to be found in the world.

After the surface of the ground has been thoroughly cleared of bush and weeds, the first part of the operation is that of digging the yam-pits, or *bukes*. These are dug of a diameter

799 selves of medical Missionary skill: while, at the 177 same time, they have confessed to the general efficacy of the treatment received, by the entire abandonment of many of the quackeries of their own professional doctors.

756 These Tonguese doctors, or *kau faitoo*, were a 759 distinct class who confined the knowledge of their art to their own families, and thus made the employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. The [755] practice they followed was a combination of sorcery, [757] and superstitious ceremony, with the administration of herbal medicines, or the external application of medicated oils, or pounded leaves. Unquestion- [824] ably, their knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs was considerable; but, not unfrequently, fatal results ensued from their prescriptions. Sometimes, in heathen days, these occurred by design, and at all times their administration might be 757 accompanied by serious accident. For the sake of securing greater secrecy, the herbs are often gathered during the darkness of night. Hence cases have been known, in which a deadly poison has thus become mixed with the intended medicine, and the patient has been destroyed. For the relief of local pain, the natives are great believers in the soothing and curative powers of proper external manipulation and friction, as well as in a liberal depletion, by small gashes, made over the afflicted part, after the style of "cupping." In rheumatic [171] affections, and pains of a kindred nature, the natives employ medicated embrocations, which, I believe, are similar to those mentioned by Dr. Seemann as in use among the Fijians.*

752 In setting limbs, a few of the Tonguese doctors

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* "Viti," by Dr. Seemann, p. 340.

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told 754
him that he was a doomed man, and should not 763
long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of 754
sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the 171
priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in 771
Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how 177
much the priestly craft, and the whole system of
lies which it propagated and sustained, depended 797
upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

By Te Rangi Hiroa.

T
Introductory.

S THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia
171 resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern,
and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places
where religious observances were carried out.

T The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and
S power. Their power was confined to a family group or
171 extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or
776 more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded
as something intangible without innate material form.

T The priest was the human medium between the god
S and the followers of the god. The office was usually
171 hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and
793 observances that placated the god and induced it to use
supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible
T manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an
S inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure
171 attributed to the god entering his human medium to make
793 known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest
787 was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed
a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a
atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique
was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were
convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method
of visible manifestation.

T The official places for making divine contact varied
S considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or
171 trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch
778 or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried
[788] out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For
more important deities and occasions, special structures
T were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value
S culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the
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ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

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(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

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merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human occupation. The fundamental element of the religious structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept and in which the priest might reside.

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(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious structure. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae* was applied to an unpaved social court before the village meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu (tu-ahu)* was relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The *tuahu* consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post, an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu* was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the hand of man had no part in providing.

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It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the general public from its association and the priest might be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship which existed between the raised wooden platforms *(fata)* for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia. The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

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Though the Polynesians created their gods from immaterial beings without innate material form, they associated them with certain material forms that the eye could see. The material representatives of the gods without form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate and inanimate.

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Samoa OU8

Animate Representatives of the Gods.

From the earliest times, man has observed the movements T
of animals and birds and drawn deductions from S
them. Sometimes the deductions were quite rational and 171
assisted materially in the prosecution of the food-quest. 825
The Polynesian fisherman observed the actions of flocks of
sea-birds and deduced from them that they were following
shoals of young fish. He joined in the chase, knowing
from experience that shoals of bonito would also be following
beneath in the water and would take his pearl-shell
lure in mistake for fish. The voyager noted the flight
of sea-birds in a certain direction in the evening and
deduced that land lay in that direction, for experience had
taught him that even sea-birds prefer to rest on land at
night. Other interpretations of movements do not appear
so rational, such as those with a supernatural association.
Animals and birds were somehow credited with being
influenced by supernatural causes more readily than man.
Movements of living things were thus interpreted to indicate T
whether or not the individual person or group would be S
successful in the particular quest which occupied attention
at the time. The attitude toward such phenomena as the 171
movements of living things was a general vague idea of 787
luck, good or bad. In Polynesian society, the attitude was
more definitely connected with the spiritual concept that
the immaterial gods influenced the movements of living
bodies to convey messages to their followers. Usually
movements in the same direction were favourable while
movements in the opposite direction were unfavourable.
Movement or appearance on a particular side was favourable
while on the opposite side the effect would also be opposite.
A further step was taken when families and groups selected T
certain living things to represent their specific god. The S
living object thus became the animate representative of 171
their immaterial god and the god's communications were 776
evidenced by the appearance, movements, or sounds, that
the living representative made. Another step in elaboration T
took place when on occasions the god was regarded as being S
actually present in the living representative, much in the 171
same way that the god took possession of the inspirational 776
priest. Bird-representatives usually acted as messengers 778
without the god being in temporary residence. The living

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representatives of gods are usually referred to as incarnations; but it must be remembered there is a wide range of belief from their being merely sacred to the gods to their being occupied by the gods. The Maori term for the living representatives is *aria* and the Tahitian is *ata.* Both terms carry the association of form or shadow. The Tongan term applied to them is *vaka* (canoe, receptacle) which is the term applied by the Maori to the priest who was the receptacle that the god entered at times.

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Diversity occurs with regard to the question of taboo. Should an individual member of a species be regarded as the god's representative only when functioning, or should the whole species be taboo at all times? In New Zealand, the prevailing concept was that a member of the selected species was regarded as the divine representative when it acted in a significant manner or when a sign was required. Otherwise, any member of an edible species was freely eaten by the worshippers of the god represented by the species. In Tonga and Samoa, the whole species was taboo to all followers at all times. This western attitude comes near to one of the elements of totemism but, even here, it must be remembered that the animal incarnation had never been an ancestor but that it was merely the representative at most of a human ancestor who had been deified.

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The following table, compiled from Collocott[1] and Gifford[2] for Tonga and from Turner[3] for Samoa, gives a list of the kinds of animate representatives utilized in the two groups and the number of gods that used each species:

TABLE 1—ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES IN TONGA AND SAMOA.

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Dog	1	1
Flying fox	1	1
Bat	-	2
Pigeons	1	5
Dove	1	-
Rail *(ve'a)*	2	5
Owl	1	4

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[113] [1] Collocott, E. E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, vol. 30, 1921, pp. 152, 227.

[113] [2] Gifford, E. W., Tongan Society, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, no. 61, 1929.

[113] [3] Turner, G., Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, . . . 1884.

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Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Fowl	-	4
Kingfisher	1	2
Heron	2	1
Snipe	1	-
Tern	1	1
Manuali'i	1	1
Kaleva	1	-
Fuia	-	1
Turtle	-	5
Stingray	-	2
Octopus	2	7
Shark	5	-
Eel	1	4
Sea-eel	2	4
Sea-snake	2	-
Mullet	1	5
Vete	1	-
Cockle	-	1
Shell-fish *(fuhu)*	1	-
Sea-urchin	-	1
Land crab	-	1
Lizard	2	3
Centipede	-	2
Butterfly	-	1
	31	64

Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

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Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

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Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

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(To be continued.)

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INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

Throughout Polynesia, inanimate objects were selected or made to represent the gods. These objects were kept in the religious structures or in the personal charge of the priests. T S 171 778 They were always on hand whereas the animate representatives were not always available. Simple natural objects such as stones and shells were utilized. In the Tahitian region, red feathers impregnated with the spiritual essence of the god formed the basis for further elaboration in form. More elaborate forms consisted of feather-work, sennit-work, and carved wooden objects. A further development consisted of carving images in wood, stone, or bone. T S 171 778 532 The images developed conventional patterns that on the whole were characteristic in different regions, but yet considerable variation occurred even in the same region.

Considerable diversity occurred with regard to the attitude in which inanimate representatives were regarded. In some regions they seem merely to have formed part of a religious paraphernalia. T S 171 778 In other regions they were charged with the spiritual essence of the god and on occasions might even be entered by the god on the solicitation of the priest. The association of the immaterial god with the inanimate object entitles these inanimate representatives to come under the general term of fetish.

The inanimate fetishes reported from Tonga and Samoa range from natural objects such as stones, shells, and teeth, to manufactured articles such as mats, bowls, and weapons. Many of the gods were without such fetishes whilst others had as many as three. The smaller objects were usually wrapped up in bark-cloth smeared with turmeric, placed in baskets, and kept in the house sacred to the god. When worshippers gathered before the temple, the priest uncovered the fetishes and displayed them on a mat. Offerings were made to these material symbols of the deity in order to secure a favourable response to the petition of the devotees. T S [782] The range of material objects selected as inanimate representatives of various gods in Tonga and Samoa is shown in Table 2.

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TABLE 2—INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

Object	Tonga	Samoa
Whales' teeth	6	1
Sharks' teeth	-	1
Trumpet shell	-	2
Cypraca shell	-	1
Unnamed shell	1	1
Stones	2	3
Fine mats	2	-
Coconut leaf basket	-	1
White tapa cloth	-	1
Turmeric ball	1	-
Wooden bowl	-	3
Throwing club	2	-
Striking club	1	-
Coconut wood spear	-	1
Shield *(pa)*	1	-
Pitching discs *(lafo)*	1	-
	17	15

IMAGES FROM TONGA.

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Amongst the objects listed in Table 2 there is no representative in human form nor any carved object except perhaps the Tongan club. Yet Wilkes[4] reported that in Samoa carved blocks of wood and of stone were set up in memory of chiefs and worshipped. Collocott[5] also, in speaking of the furniture of the temple of the Tongan god, Mafuta-ae-tau, states that it consisted of "fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with turmeric." This temple with its contents was burned after the acceptance of Christianity. Though the carved objects mentioned by Wilkes and Collocott may not have been in human form, the statements are interesting in view of the fact that carved images from both island groups are in existence. It is remarkable that neither Collocott nor Gifford were given information by the Tongans regarding the presence of images in the Haapai islands. Turner also made no mention of images in Samoa though such an object is now in the British Museum.

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[4] Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 139.

[5] Collocott, E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, New Plymouth, 1921, vol. 30, p. 228.

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[128] Fortunately Williams[9] reproduced a drawing of the goddess. A copy, with the position reversed purposely for comparison with other figures to follow, is shown in fig. 1.

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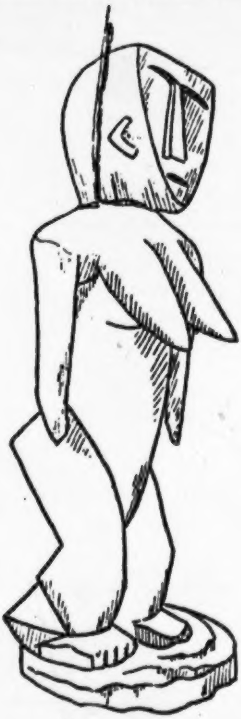

FIG. 1.
Tongan image, after Williams.

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[171] The figure has characteristic features which readily distinguish it from wooden images from other parts of Polynesia. The head is poorly drawn but it is evident that the brows, nose, mouth, and ears are clearly defined. The outstanding features, however, are the large pointed breasts, the position of the arms which are free from the body with somewhat pointed hands hanging straight down, and the exaggerated back-projection of an enlarged gluteal region. The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the thighs and the feet are notched to represent toes. The figure stands on a base cut out of the same block of wood.

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[9] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 274.

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IMAGE FROM SAMOA.

A wooden image presented to Queen Victoria by S
King Malietoa of Samoa in 1841 has found sanctuary in 532
the British Museum. The image was figured by Kraemer[10] 127
and my first impression on seeing Kraemer's drawing was that the image belonged to the post-European period. However, the year 1841 is very early so far as Samoa is S
concerned for Christianity was not accepted until after [797]
the visit of John Williams in 1830. Doubt as to the purely native origin of the image vanishes after comparing it with S
the Tongan figures. The Samoan image is shown in fig. 7. T

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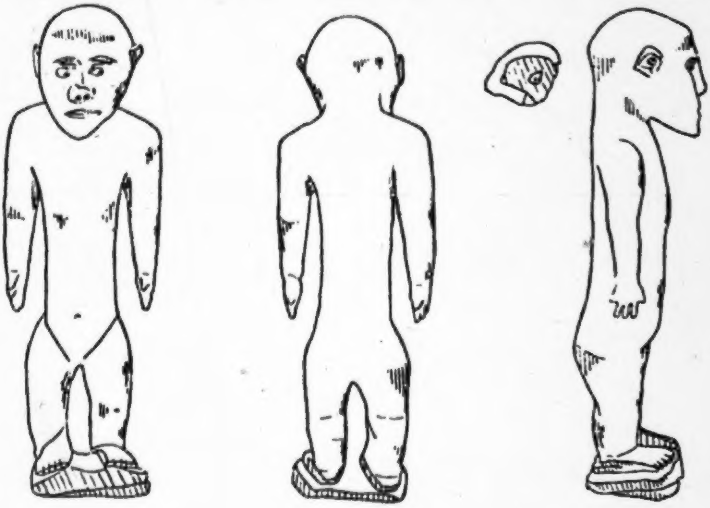

FIG. 7.

Samoan Image in British Museum.

Hard wood, light coloured, not polished. Height, 675 mm.; head-width, 146 mm.; head-length, 147 mm.; shoulder-width, 212 mm.; chest-thickness, 84 mm. Well-shaped head with brows, elliptical eye-sockets with shell-opercula inserted to represent eyeballs, wide nose with triangular lower surface with two holes for nostrils, elliptical mouth, and projecting ears with knob interruption to represent tragus. Long body with flat chest without prominent breasts, flat abdomen with depressed navel, and gluteal region not prominent. Arms free of body, extended downward without elbow flexion, five-fingered hands with thumb to front. Short legs and feet with five toes.

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[10] Kraemer, A., *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1902, 1903; [113]
vol. 2, p. 207.

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As seen from the figure and description, the Samoan image differs from the Tongan images in a number of details. The head is not so rounded, the body is more elongated with a corresponding shortness of the legs, and the marked protuberance of the breasts and gluteal region is absent. The ears are more roughly made, the eyes have the addition of opercula eyeballs, and the nose besides being broader has the addition of two holes for nostrils. One cannot help feeling that the addition of nostril-holes to the fairly large triangular under-surface of the nose has been influenced more by the technique of the perforated triangular lug at the proximal ends of clubs than by anatomical considerations.

In spite of the differences in technical details, the general pose of the figure with the downward-extended arms and thumbs to the front is strikingly similar to that of the Tongan figures. The ears, though not so carefully carved, have a very important element of resemblance in the presence of a distinct projection to the front which corresponds to the tragus in the Fuller image (fig. 2). The separation of the tragus-element must be regarded as a specialization in western Polynesia because the technique is not present in the many images from the other regions that I have so far examined.

The Tongan wooden images are smooth and highly polished whereas the Samoan image retains the edge-marks from the final adzing-process. The Samoan image is also cruder in craftsmanship as shown by the rough carving of the nose and ears. In spite of these differences, the Samoan image appears to belong to the same art-school that was responsible for the Tongan images. It is unlikely that the same characteristic position of the arms and the specialized ear-tragus could originate in two localities independently of each other. The Haapai locality has been proved beyond question by Williams, and the existence of other images of a like technique shows that the form was not sporadic. Only one Samoan image is known up to the present, and it is more feasible to accept diffusion from Haapai than independent creation in Samoa. If the Samoan image had been made in Haapai, better workmanship and a closer adherence to the Haapai details might be expected. I incline to the opinion that the image sent

to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa T
by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone S
who was acquainted with the general appearance of the 532
Haapai images. 171

CARVED WEAPONS OF WESTERN POLYNESIA. T

The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives 532
in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been 411
definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in T
the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority S
of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were 532
confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania 411
Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from 171
the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were 114
not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked.
The one positive statement that human figures occur in T
Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a S
large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me 532
in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs 411
or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared 171
by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience 127

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[11] Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917. T

[12] Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611. S [113] [113]

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in the handling of clubs from Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji must add the greatest weight to their opinions. If the human-figure motive had been adopted by Samoan craftsmen, we would expect to find its presence in some, at least, of the numerous authenticated Samoan clubs in various museums and private collections. The absence of the human-motive is evidence that it never entered Samoan carving-technique as applied to weapons. This lack of a human-motive in Samoan club-carvings may be taken as evidence in support of the argument that the Samoan image is due to Tongan influence.

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IMAGES FROM CENTRAL POLYNESIA.

In order to stress the importance of the position of the arms and some technical details in the Tongan images, a few images from central Polynesia are here figured for comparative purposes. By central Polynesia, I mean the Society islands, but I would also include for the purposes of this study, the Cook and Austral groups. The examples selected are the smaller images in wood as such are more comparable with the Tongan material.

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IMAGES FROM TAHITI.

In Tahiti, the inanimate representatives of the gods were termed *to'o* (cf. Maori, *toko)* and were usually made of a twined sennit covering over a wooden core with outer decorations of red feathers. The human form was rarely used. Wooden images, termed *ti'i* (Cf. Rarotongan, *tiki).* were used by sorcerers to represent their familiar spirits. These were of both sexes, and an example of each is here figured as, from size and material, the technique is more readily comparable with the Tongan images. See figures 8 and 9.

The Tahitian figures are not so realistic as the Tongan, and their main differences consist in the treatment of the ears, the square shoulders with the straight edge across the back, the position of the arms, the nipples instead of breasts in the female figure, the projecting abdomen and navel, and the normal treatment of the gluteal region. It is evident in the two Tahitian figures that sex is indicated by the inclusion of the sex-organ, and the female breasts are not any more developed than the male. In the Tongan figures, the sex is indicated by the size of the breasts and the sex-organ is ignored.

(To be continued.)

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Continued from Vol. 44, No. 2, Page 96.

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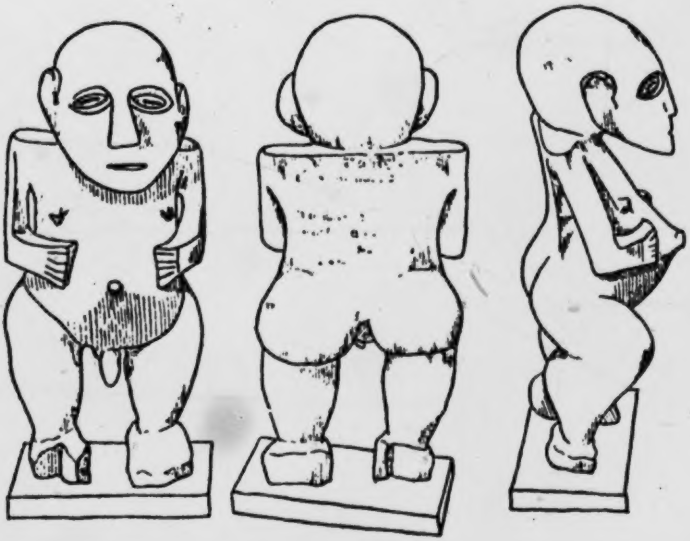

FIG. 8.

Tahitian Male Image, British Museum (No. 7047).

Height, 520 mm.; shoulder-width, 209 mm. Head with hollowed-out eye-socket containing raised elliptical eyeball with horizontal median slit; large shapeless ears with lower border continuous with jaw-angle; large nose and narrow slit mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arms free of body with flexed forearms and hands resting on abdomen. Flat chest with small nipples and projecting abdomen with protruding navel; gluteal region well shaped but not exaggerated. Flexed thighs and legs with shapeless feet. Phallus denotes sex and also inscription in ink on back, " Ti'i Tane " (male image).

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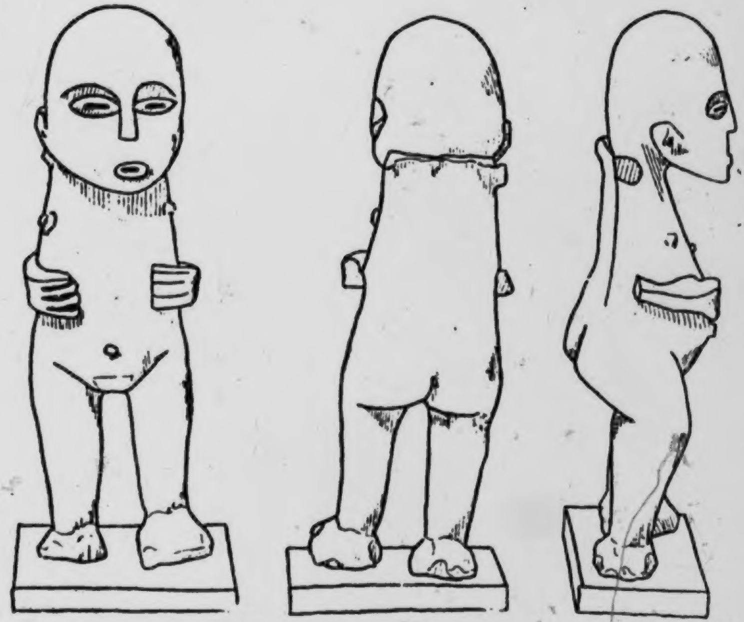

FIG. 9.

Tahitian Female Image, British Museum (?).

Height, 475 mm.; body-width at nipple-line, 114 mm. Similar in technique to fig. 8 in shape of head, eyes, ears, and nose, but mouth formed of raised ellipse with horizontal slit similar to eye. Similar square shoulders with straight edge across back; free upper arms broken off, flexed forearms and hands resting on abdomen. Flat chest with small nipples and projecting abdomen with protruding navel; gluteal region well shaped but not exaggerated. Flexed thighs and longer legs with solid shapeless feet. Sex indicated by slightly raised triangular area, base upwards, to represent vulva.

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IMAGES FROM THE COOK ISLANDS.

In the Cook islands region the inanimate representatives of the gods were constructed in various ways on the different islands. Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro had conventional carved forms in wood, but they were not in human form. Atiu had objects made of sennit-braid and covered closely with red feathers. Aitutaki had carved slabs but showed variety in using images as well albeit they were poorly carved. Rarotonga showed the greatest advance in the use of the human form in a variety of patterns. An image from Aitutaki is shown in fig. 10.

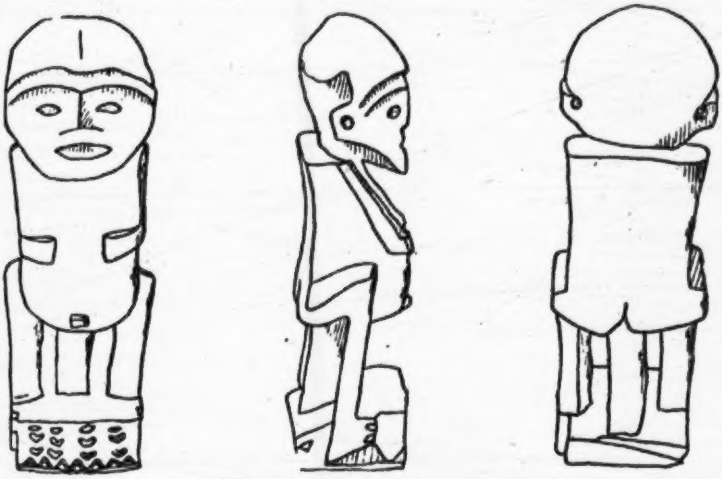

FIG. 10.

Aitutaki Image, British Museum (L M.S. collection).

Height, 525 mm.; shoulder-width, 155 mm. Head with extra line above eyebrow-line which extends to sides; eyes and mouth formed by elliptical excisions; nose formed by meeting of two cheek-planes in an edge which is bounded below by a transverse incision; ears poorly formed but perforated. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arms inclined forward and not free of body; forearms flexed with fingerless hands resting on abdomen. Projecting abdomen with protruding navel formed by square knob; gluteal region not projecting. Thighs acutely flexed and feet merged in solid base with notches in sides to represent toes. Vertical rounded support between body and base; base carved in front. No sex-organ included.

The Rarotongan images vary from single to multiple figures and are in various sizes. The form more nearly

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comparable in size with the Tongan images is the type described as a fisherman's god. See fig. 11.

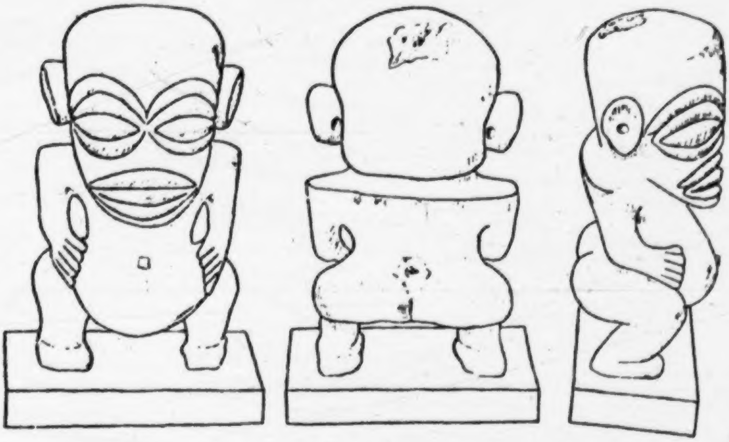

FIG. 11.

Rarotongan Image, British Museum (L.M.S. collection).

Height, 440 mm.; shoulder-width, 240 mm. Large well-shaped head with elaborated large eyes and mouth, no nose, and large prominent ears pierced posteriorily. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arm free, and flexed forearm and five-fingered hand resting on abdomen. Projecting abdomen with protruding navel formed by square knob; well-formed gluteal region. Thighs and lower limbs flexed and feet formed by shapeless blocks. Male-organ amputated. Pedestal in drawing does not belong to image.

The Rarotongan image shows an elaborate technique with regard to the eyes which have elements representing the eyeball, upper and lower lids, and eyebrows, whilst the mouth also shows a similar elaboration in the presence of tongue and upper and lower lip-elements. In contrast to this elaboration is the absence of a defined nose. The whole figure is short and squat and conveys an idea of virility that is absent in the Aitutaki image. Though the figures from the two islands are so different, they yet share the general technique of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level, the flexed forearm resting on the abdomen, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the pierced ears.

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IMAGE FROM THE AUSTRAL ISLANDS.

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The large wooden image from Rurutu, with hollow back and a number of smaller figures distributed over it, has been described by both Williams[13] and Ellis.[14] A stone

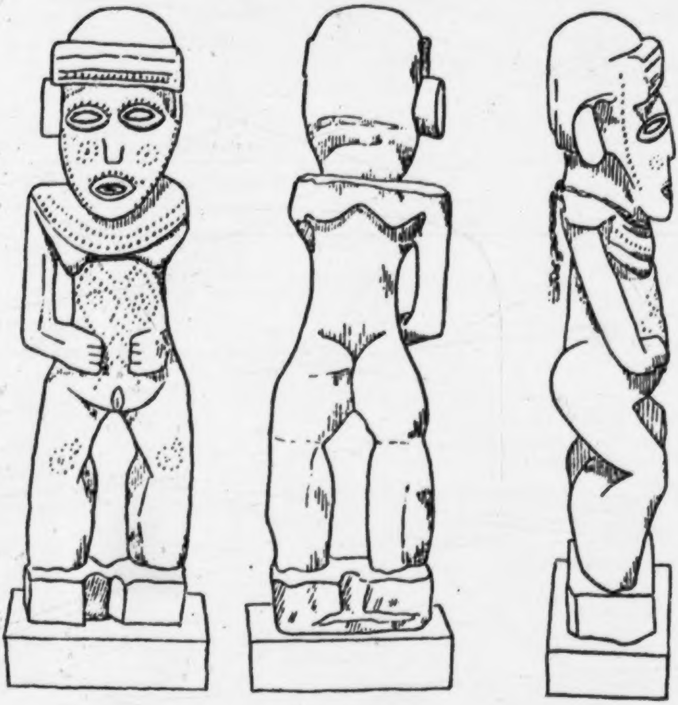

FIG. 12.

Raivavae Image, British Museum (54/12-29/120).

Height, 620 mm.; shoulder-width, 153 mm. High head with projecting horizontal band above forehead; large projecting solid ear, one broken off; elliptical eye-sockets with raised eyeballs, small nose, and elliptical mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back and triangular projections below probably representing shoulder blades; upper arms free of body but one broken off; forearms flexed with hands resting on abdomen. Upper chest with curved projection and triangular breasts below. Abdomen slightly protruding, no navel, incised female sex-organ, and gluteal region not excessively developed. Thighs flexed and abnormally large lower limbs fused with base directly. Incised carving patterns on face, body, and legs.

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[13] Williams, *Opt. cit.*

[14] Ellis, W., *Polynesian Researches,* 2 vols., London, 1829; vol. 2, frontispiece and p. 220.

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532 image with upraised arms, attributed to Raivavae, rests
171 in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. A third image in wood
127 and of suitable size for comparative purposes was presented to the British Museum by Sir George Grey in 1854. It is attributed to High island (Raivavae) and is shown in fig. 12.

532 The Raivavae image shows elaboration in the use of raised parts on the forehead, back, and chest, and of
171 simple ornamental patterns of small incised triangles. The use of the small-triangle motive is part of a local technique employed extensively in the carving of the characteristic paddles from this region. The head-form and the dependent triangular breasts are also characteristic of the female figures on the proximal ends of these paddles. Disregarding such local elaborations, it is seen that Raivavae resembles Tahiti and the Cook islands in the use of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level, the flexed forearm resting on the abdomen, and the protruding abdomen. It differs from the other two regions in the absence of the navel.

Summary of Central-Polynesian Technique.

A comparison of the selected images from the islands of the Society, Cook, and Austral islands, in which small wooden images were made, shows that considerable local variation had developed with regard to the shape of the head and details in the formation of the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears. Variation also extended to other anatomical parts. In spite of local elaborations, a general posture-pattern was shared by the three groups. Apart from the upright head and body, posture is determined by the position of the lower and upper limbs. The lower limbs are flexed in the three regions but this attitude is widely spread throughout Polynesia and exists in the images from western Polynesia. In the three regions, the upper limbs are flexed with the hands resting on a projecting abdomen to which a protruding navel is added except in Raivavae. A constant technical feature in the three regions is the presence of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level. It is the posture-pattern as influenced by the position of the upper limbs that constitutes an important difference with the posture-pattern of the Tongan images. The protruding abdomen and navel and the straight edge across the back are also absent from the Tongan images.

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DIAGNOSTIC IMPORTANCE OF POSTURE PATTERNS.

A puzzling image in the British Museum brings up 127
the importance of establishing patterns of technique and
general posture in the images from different regions not
only to shed light on local culture-variation but for the
purpose of diagnozing the locality of doubtful objects. The
doubtful image which puzzled me so much that I forgot
to take measurements and to photograph the back view,
is shown in fig. 13.

The museum number indicated that the locality of the
image was Tahiti, but the museum authorities could not
vouch for its reliability. The textile-material of the cap 532
was formed of coconut-husk fibre warps radiating out from 171
a central point and fixed in position with single fibre wefts
worked with a continuous single-pair twine to the circum- 286
ference. The shell-beads were slipped on over the warps
at regular intervals. The neck and waist-strips were made
with a similar single-pair twine technique but the warps
were parallel instead of radiating. Both the technique and
the resulting material were characteristic of Tonga and
I do not know of any other part of Polynesia where a
similar specialized technique was used. The textile tech-
nique associated with the image thus indicated Tonga as
a locality to be considered. The image, however, did not 532
conform to the technique of the established Tongan images. 171

As regards the image itself, the presence of flexed forearms with the hands resting on the body, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the straight edge across the back, indicated that it conformed to the central-Polynesian pattern and not to that of western Polynesia. The forearms by their acute flexion raised the hands to the level of the chest instead of the usual abdominal site but this slight change was but a variation of the usual pose.

Of the various islands of central Polynesia, Rarotonga was eliminated by the absence of the squat form and the specialized eyes and mouth, whilst Raivavae was also eliminated by difference in general form, the lack of the specialized triangular breasts, and the absence of the triangular carving-motive as ornamentation. Between Tahiti and Aitutaki, the eye-technique favoured Tahiti but the adherence of the upper arm to the body, the acute

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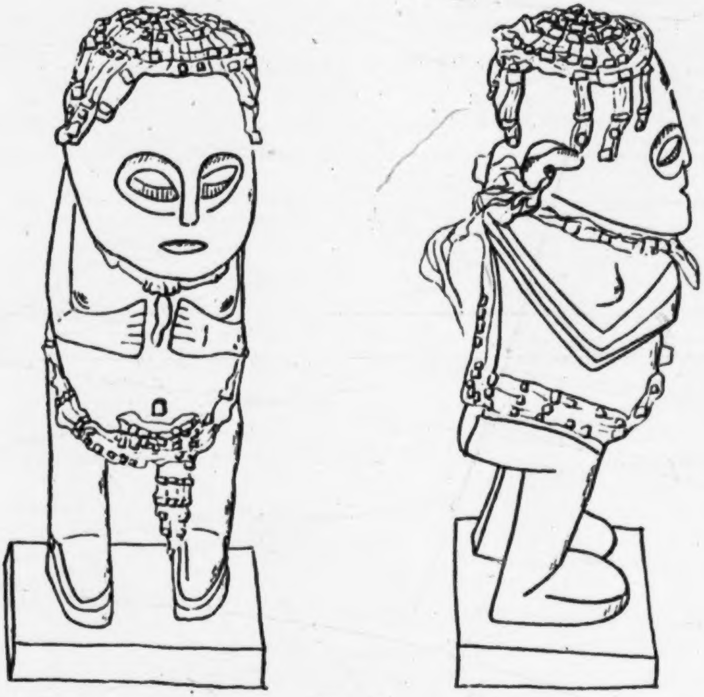

Fig. 13.

Image of Doubtful Locality, British Museum (Tah. 63).

Wood, stained with dark colour. Eye-socket large and somewhat rounded with elliptical raised eyeball; nose, narrow-tipped; mouth, elliptical excision; ear, projecting, pierced, and with attached ornament. Square shoulders with straight edge across back; upper arm not free of body; forearms acutely flexed with five-fingered hands resting on chest. Breasts round and pointed; prominent abdomen and protruding navel represented by rectangular knob; female sex-organ present; gluteal region not prominent. Thighs well flexed and solid feet. Cap formed of sennit twined-work, with radiating warps and shell-beads; nailed to head with small metal tacks. Strips of twined textile around neck with fish-bone suspended in front as ornament. Textile strip also wrapped around waist as *maro*, which conceals sex-organ. Neck and waist-strips with shell-beads, and also tacked in position.

flexion of the thighs, and the pierced ears, formed a complex that showed a greater affinity with the somewhat crude image from Aitutaki depicted in fig. 10.

A glance at fig. 13 shows that the circular piece of material on the head of the image looks remarkably like

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the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such caps,* the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object was produced.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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This paper forms an introduction to the study of the numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods which escaped destruction and found refuge in various museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my examination of the rich material in that wonderful but woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access to their private collections and for drawing my attention to the Tongan images.

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The line drawings in this paper were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the study of the material culture of central Polynesia.

CONCLUSIONS.

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Wooden images, though not common in western Polynesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan

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*In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand;* Mrs. W. White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs, p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—ED.

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influence. Small figures were also made from whale-ivory of the same pattern as the wooden images and were probably from the same locality. The figures are fairly realistic and in the characteristic posture of all the specimens, the arms hang free of the body in a downward-extended position with the thumbs to the front. The figures, with one possible exception, are all female with the sex indicated by the large prominent breasts while the sex-organ is ignored. Other technical details consist of the rounding off from the neck to the back, the presence of a specialized tragus in the ear of the wooden images, a flat abdomen with no navel, and an exaggerated back-projection of the gluteal region. The posture and the points enumerated form a western-Polynesian pattern.

Wooden images, more conventional in form and of both sexes, were common in central Polynesia. In the characteristic posture, the upper arm is usually free of the body and the flexed forearms and hands rest on the abdomen. Even in female figures, the chest is flat with the breasts represented by nipples and the sex denoted by the presence of the sex-organ. Other technical details consist of a straight edge across the back to define its upper border, the absence of a specialized tragus and enlarged breasts, a projecting abdomen, and a protruding navel. The gluteal region, while well formed, is not exaggerated to the same extent as in the western pattern.

The central posture-pattern, with flexed forearms resting on the abdomen, was used in southern, eastern, and northern Polynesia, but it has not been reported from western Polynesia. The use of distinctive patterns adds another item to the growing list of differences between western Polynesia and the rest of the Polynesian area.

Though the central posture-pattern was widely spread, it was not the only pattern used in the regions where it was utilized. A good deal of variation existed. In western Polynesia, the carving technique of images seems to have been confined definitely to the one pattern, which again appears to have been employed only in a part of the Tongan group. This indicates a lack of carving-initiative in western Polynesia and offers a marked contrast to the diversified development of the art of carving in the rest of Polynesia.

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PAN-PIPES IN POLYNESIA

By Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck).
Director of Bishop Museum.

Introduction.

PAN-PIPES are primitive wind instruments that derive 534
their popular name from the Greek myth that they were 171
invented by the god Pan. Pan was represented as having the 000
legs and sometimes the ears and horns of a goat. In Arcadia, he was supposed to wander through the forests attended by nymphs and playing upon the syrinx* or Pan's pipes. The 534
instrument consists of a number of short hollow reeds graduated in length to provide a musical scale and bound together side by side with the lower ends stopped and the upper ends open and level for playing with the lips.

The instruments are widely spread for they are also 534
recorded from Peru and Oceania. The distribution in Oceania 171
has been summarized by Andersen (1) from the instruments figured by Edge-Partington (2) in his *Ethnological Album of the Pacific Islands.* The islands so recorded comprise New Guinea, Admiralty, New Britain, Solomons, New Hebrides, Fiji, and Tonga. Both in New Guinea and Melanesia, the instruments vary in different districts or different islands in the same group. They may consist of a single row of reeds or a double row in which the reeds of the back row are open at both ends. In all these Pacific islands, the reeds consist of lengths of bamboo in which the natural node forms the stopped lower ends of the single-row instruments and the front reeds of the double-row instruments. The reeds vary in diameter as well as length, the shorter reeds being of less diameter than the longer ones. They also vary in the number of reeds and the methods by which they are bound together.

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* The alternative name was given after an Arcadian nymph, Syrinx, daughter of the river Ladon; and on Pan falling in love with her and pursuing her, in order to escape him she was, at her own request, turned by the gods into the reed called syrinx by the Greeks. This reed was thereafter used by Pan for the fashioning of his pipes.

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534 The reeds may be regularly graduated in length from the
171 longest to the shortest or they may be arranged in a sequence
in which the lower ends present an irregular appearance.

Though Tonga is the only Polynesian group figured by
534 Edge-Partington, pan-pipes were also known in Samoa. A
127 solitary instrument in the British Museum has been wrongly
[114] attributed to New Zealand. I saw four Tongan instruments
in the British Museum and one in the Berne Museum. As
I took photographs and notes on the five instruments, I give
the details here to place the Tongan technique on record.

TONGA

The authenticity of pan-pipes in Tonga is placed beyond
doubt by Cook (3, 3rd vol., pl. 21, fig. 5), who saw the instrument
being played and figured a specimen, which Andersen
reproduced in his work. The instrument figured is evidently
the one I saw in the British Museum attributed to Cook.
The other three in the British Museum were collected on a
voyage of *H.M.S. Herald.* The instrument in the Berne
Museum was collected by Webber, the artist with Cook's
534 third expedition. The five instruments are shown in fig. 1
128 and the number of reeds, length in inches of the shortest and
longest reeds, and the width of the instruments are given in
the accompanying table. The British Museum specimens are
grouped together under the number 56/7-9/6 and the Berne
Museum instrument is numbered Fr. 22.

534 The reeds consist of varying lengths of bamboo arranged
in a single row with the upper open ends in a straight line
and the lower closed ends forming an irregular line except in
the smallest instrument (*e*). The open ends are trimmed
both back and front into a concave curve, the curve on one
surface being usually deeper than the other. The reeds are
bound with two horizontal rows of coconut-husk fibre, an
upper row a little below the open ends and a lower row just
above the level of the closed end of the shortest reed.

[128] The instruments in fig. 1 are drawn in the position in
which they were photographed by me with the shortest reed
on the right, but I have no information as to whether or not
this was the position when played. However, when held in
this position, the deeper curves of the open ends are toward
the mouth and one may therefore assume that this was the

534 position when played. In lieu of direct information, I again
assume that in the double-row pan-pipes, the closed row is
next to the mouth because it is the closed reeds which are
534 sounded. It is interesting to note that of the pan-pipes in
the Bishop Museum collection, the double-row instruments
171 from the Solomons and the New Hebrides have the shortest
reed on the right. The curved open ends appear to be peculiar
to Tonga, for all the Bishop Museum instruments from New
Guinea and Melanesia have straight upper ends.

534 An examination of the four wider instruments in fig. 1, *a-d*, shows that though apparently arranged irregularly as regards length, they are definitely arranged in two series. In all four, the right series consists of five reeds, commencing on the right with the shortest reed in the whole instrument. Moving in order to the left, the second reed is short, but a little longer than the first; the third is longer still and of medium length; the fourth is long, usually the longest; and the fifth falls back to the same medium length as the third. Thus the fourth longest reed is supported on either side by mediums of equal length.

The left series consists of five reeds in three instruments (*a*, *b*, *c*) and four in the other (*d*). The series commences with a short sixth, always a little longer than the first. The seventh is medium, the eighth long and the ninth medium. Thus the long reed (8th) is again supported on either side by mediums of equal length. The instrument with nine reeds stops here, but in the other three, the tenth or left marginal reed differs. In the Cook (*a*) and the Webber (*b*) instruments, the tenth reed is long, but in the third (*c*), the tenth is short, corresponding in length to the first (6th) of the second series. The reeds in the Tongan instruments were thus not placed haphazard, but according to a definite musical scale that Andersen or some other musician could work out if the instruments were available for testing.

The small instrument (*e*) with five reeds is really a half-instrument and though it departs from the preceding types in having the reeds arranged regularly in sequence of length, it follows the general plan in having the shortest reed on the right.

534 The lashing-technique, similar in all five instruments,
284 consists of two spaced rows made with coconut-husk fibre.
[283]

It was commenced by passing a number of fibres horizontally 534
around all the reeds to form a band consisting of five fibres 284
in the Webber instrument and eight or nine in the British Museum specimens. The ends of individual fibres were brought together and the double ends tied with an overhand knot. A single fibre was then passed back and forth between the reeds and around the horizontal band both back and front as shown in fig. 2, *a-c*. The technique was the same in both rows, but in the Cook instrument, a double fibre was used in the lower row which, after completing one round, was reversed for a second course with resultant crossings on the back of the reeds as shown in fig. 2, *d*. This technique is [171]
similar to that used to bind together the lengths of dry coconut-leaflet midribs in both Tongan and Samoan combs.

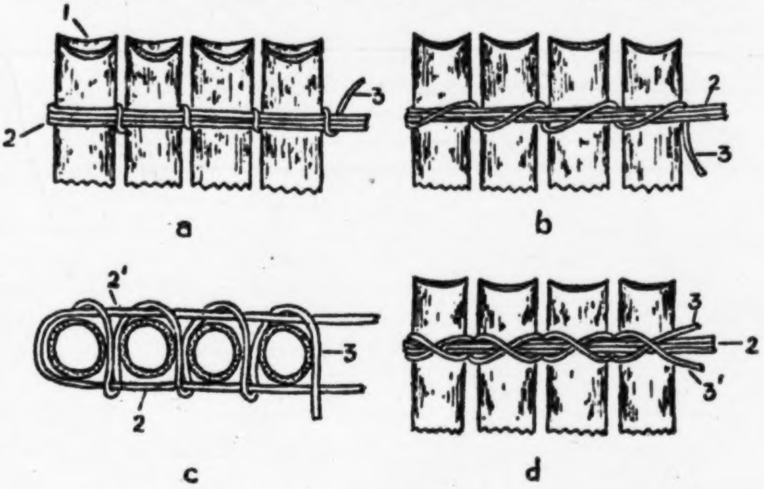

FIG. 2—LASHING TECHNIQUE OF TONGAN PAN-PIPES.

a. Front: 1, Upper ends of reeds, showing lower curved cuts on front; 2, Horizontal band of coir fibre; 3, Binding fibre passing around horizontal band in front between reeds and passing back in same interval.

b. Back: Binding fibre (3) after passing around band (2) in front, passes obliquely to right to pass around horizontal band in each interval.

c. Horizontal section showing horizontal band in front (2) and at back (2′) with binding fibre (3) passing backward and forward between the reeds.

d. Back of lower lashing row in Cook instrument, showing two crossing courses (3, 3′) of the binding fibre around horizontal band (2).

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According to McKern (4) the Tongan name for pan-pipes is *mimiha.*

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The drawing of a pan-pipe reproduced by Andersen (1, fig. 25, No. 3) from D'Urville (5, vol. 1, pl. 84, fig. 2) with the inscription "Tongatabu panpipes," differs markedly from the Tongan forms already described. The reeds are arranged in regular sequence of length and the lashing consists of fairly wide bands of fibres that pass around successive pairs of reeds near the lower closed ends. The lashings thus ascend from the longest reed to the shortest in a series of steps. This lashing technique is characteristic of New Britain, to which locality the instrument probably belongs. It certainly does not belong to Tonga.

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SAMOA

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The information obtained by me in Samoa (6, p. 580) about pan-pipes was very scant. The Samoan instrument was said to be a *fa'aili 'ofe* (bamboo made into a whistle), a term which is descriptive rather than specific. It was said to consist of five reeds which were bound together with the coconut-leaflet midrib comb-technique *(fausanga selu).* The number of reeds corresponds to that of the small Tongan instrument, though probably there were larger ones similar to the larger Tongan pan-pipes. The reported comb-lashing also corresponds to the Tongan technique and it is very probable that the old Samoan pan-pipes resembled those of Tonga very closely.

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I disagree with Andersen (1, p. 270) in his statement that the Samoan people did not know the pan-pipe "until it was introduced by Solomon Island labourers in comparatively recent times." Its presence in Samoa is vouched for by Stair (7, p. 135) and Wilkes (8, vol. 2, p. 142) long before Solomon Islands labourers were brought to Samoa. However, it is extremely likely that the pan-pipes that were originally introduced in pre-European times were abandoned after European contact and then re-introduced by Solomon Islands labourers. If such were the case, the original Samoan form resembling the Tongan type with the comb lashing would have disappeared and the form which came in later should resemble one of the Solomon Islands types of instrument. Such an explanation would bear out the latter part of Ander-

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sen's statement and it is supported by a modern pan-pipe from Tutuila that was made for the Bishop Museum by Fepulea'i Ripley. This instrument (fig. 3, *a*) differs from

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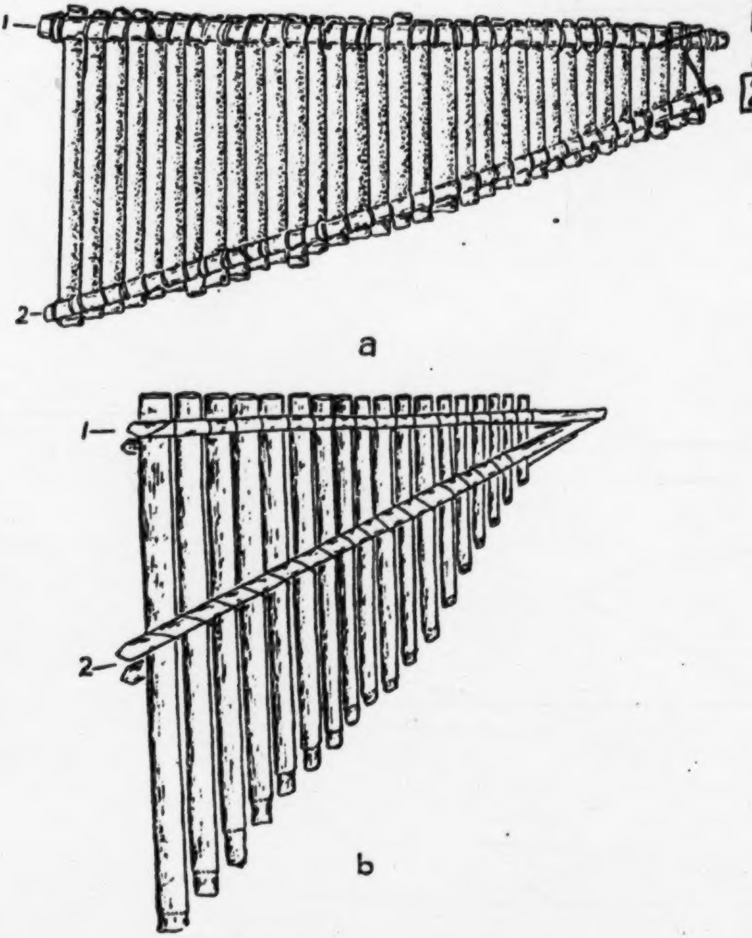

FIG. 3—PAN-PIPES WITH TWO BAR LASHINGS.

a. Modern Samoan, Bishop Museum (C. 1601): total width, 15½in.; 33 reeds; longest, 7½in.; shortest, 2in.; with upper horizontal bar (1) and lower oblique (2).

b. Solomon Islands, Edge-Partington (I-228-1): width, 6in.; depth, 6in.; with upper horizontal double bar (1) and lower oblique double (2).

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534 the Tongan type in having a larger number of reeds (33)
171 arranged in regular sequence according to length and being
S bound together by lashing the reeds with narrow sennit braid
534 to an upper horizontal bar and a lower oblique one. The type
171 of Solomon Islands pan-pipe that it resembles is shown in fig.
3, *b*. It will be observed that the reeds in both instruments
177 are regularly graded in length and the upper horizontal and
[284] lower oblique bars are present.

The Solomon Islands' instrument differs in that the bars are composed of flat strips of bamboo arranged in pairs for both horizontal and oblique bars whereas Ripley has used fairly thick rounded rods of some local wood on only one side of his instrument. For lashing, the Solomon Islanders used some form of local fibre which is not coconut-husk fibre, and Ripley used sennit. The lashing-technique is also different in the two instruments. It would be interesting to investigate the history of the introduced Solomon Islands labourers to find if some of them came from the district or island in which horizontal and oblique bars were used on their pan-pipes.

NEW ZEALAND

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534 The presence of pan-pipes in New Zealand, to quote
Andersen (1, pp. 267-270), rests on its inclusion in a list of
171 Maori musical instruments in Marshall's *Account of New*
114 *Zealand*, 1834 and a set of pan-pipes in the British Museum
attributed to New Zealand. The British Museum instrument
was figured by Edge-Partington (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4)
in his *Ethnological Album of the Pacific Islands*, and this
drawing was reproduced by Andersen in his work on *Maori
Music*.

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114 Marshall is the authority for the statement that he saw two Maori women weaving a cloak from either end toward each other so that the weft-line met in the middle of the garment. Such a technique would involve the knotting together of the weft-elements in the middle of each row with the result that the completed garment would show a vertical row of knots in the middle of each garment. No such garment has been recorded, because no craftswoman would adopt such an inconvenient and untidy technique. What really happened was that one woman wove the weft line from left to right to the middle of the garment and then relinquished it to her

assistant who completed the row with the same weft- 114
elements while the first woman commenced another row.
By the time the new weft-row reached the middle, the assistant had completed the preceding row and was ready to take over. Thus two women could weave on the one garment, but the second woman worked away from the first and not toward her. An author who could not describe accurately what he saw can be little relied upon to record accurately what he did not see.

Andersen (1) mentions that J. Macmillan Brown wrote 534
that the pan-pipes were reported "once or twice from New 171
Zealand" but Brown did not give his authorities for this
statement. Evidently, according to Andersen, Macmillan 114
Brown referred to Marshall and Edge-Partington. Elsdon [177]
Best rightly considered that the instrument was essentially
Melanesian and had reached Tonga through Fiji. George 534
Graham, who made special inquiries for S. Percy Smith many
years ago, found that none of the old Maoris he interviewed 171
had ever seen or heard of such an instrument.

Coming to the instrument in the British Museum, it is [127]
curious that it should be the only specimen attributed to New
Zealand, whereas large numbers of the various Maori musical

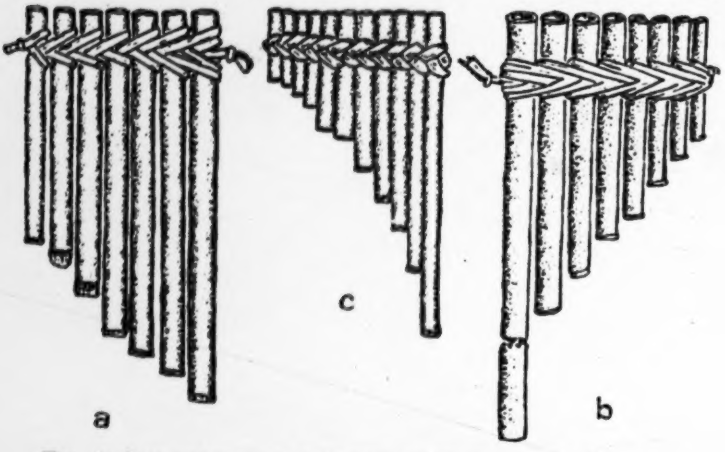

FIG. 4—PAN-PIPES WITH ONE ROW OF HERRING-BONE LASHING.

a. British Museum specimen wrongly attributed to New Zealand.

b. Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).

c. New Hebrides instrument in British Museum.

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 instruments have been preserved together with their names. Any single representative of an alleged class of object must 171 be treated with suspicion. However, there is a very simple 127 method of deciding whether the instrument belongs to New Zealand or not, and this is by examining the material from which it is made. I did not see the instrument when I studied Polynesian artifacts in the British Museum in 1933, and it is not possible to obtain further details at present because the British Museum material has been stored in the country for safety during the duration of the war. However, a study of Edge-Partington's (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4) drawing, reproduced in fig. 4 *a*, indicates clearly that the reeds composing 534 the instrument consist of bamboo. The bamboo *(kohe, 'ohe, 'ofe)*, though widely spread throughout the tropics, was not 171 present in New Zealand in pre-European times. The fact that the Polynesian bamboo name of *kohe* was given by the early Maori settlers to a totally different plant *(Dysoxylum spectabile)* shows that they neither introduced the bamboo nor found it in the native flora of New Zealand. Having a plant-name to spare, the Maoris applied it to a plant which produced long slender saplings that could be used for some of the purposes which bamboo served in their previous home in central Polynesia. The poles, however, were solid and could not be used to make pan-pipes even had they been [127] acquainted with that instrument. Thus, if the British Museum instrument is made of bamboo, as it appears to be, the instrument cannot possibly belong to New Zealand.

In the alleged New Zealand instrument, seven reeds are regularly graded in sequence of length. The lashing-technique consists of a single row near the upper end and the turns around the reeds form a continuous chevron or herring-bone pattern (fig. 4, *a*). In both reed-arrangement and lashing-technique, the instrument differs greatly from the Tongan type. In seeking the correct locality of the instrument, my attention was arrested by Andersen's (1, p. 23) reproduction of a figure in the illustrations of Cook's voyages, of a pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides. The regular arrangement of the reeds, the herring-bone pattern of the lashing, and even the overhand knots at each end of the lashings are identical in the drawings of the two instruments. The only differences are that the Cook instrument has one

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more reed and the longest reed has extra length below the closing node (fig. 4, *b*). The two drawings were made from opposite sides which may confuse the reader at first glance.

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Another pan-pipe in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (2) and attributed to the New Hebrides is shown in fig. 4, *c*. Two other New Hebrides pan-pipes in the Peabody Museum, Salem, with nine and eleven reeds respectively, show the same regular grading of reeds and a similar lashing in one row with the herring-bone pattern.

Edge-Partington, in a note to his drawing of fig. 4, *c*, states that the reeds are "fastened together with strips of leaf." In some modern pan-pipes in the Bishop Museum from the New Hebrides with three rows of lashing similar to the Tongan technique, the lashing-material consists of strips of the separated upper surface of pandanus leaves. It is probable that pandanus leaf is the leaf referred to by Edge-Partington for though techniques may alter somewhat, people are likely to adhere to the local raw material used by their elders. If another test were required to disprove the New Zealand locality of the pan-pipe attributed to it, the absence of New Zealand flax fibre as the lashing material would be significant, but the presence of pandanus leaf would be conclusive evidence as the pandanus is not present in the New Zealand flora. However, the use of bamboo reeds is conclusive enough. From the evidence, it is clear that pan-pipes were not used in New Zealand and the specimen in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand belongs to the New Hebrides.

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CONCLUSION

Pan-pipes are widely spread throughout New Guinea and Melanesia, but in Polynesia they occurred only in Tonga and Samoa, two groups in closest proximity to Fiji, the eastern outpost of Melanesia. Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji form a triangle within which frequent inter-island communication and trade took place. Tonga traded with Fiji for red feathers, sandal wood, and logs for building double-canoes. Even Fijian craftsmen were imported into Tonga to build the Fijian type of double-canoe. This form under the name of *kalia* displaced the older Tongan type termed *tongiaki*. Samoa also traded with Fiji for red feathers and like the Tongans adopted the later double-canoe with its dialectical name of *'alia* in place

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Samoa OU8

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439 of their older *vaka tele* that corresponded to the Tongan
171 *tongiaki.*

177 In addition to trade which spread material objects, inter-
T marriages took place between the three groups, and certain
S social customs such as brother-and-sister avoidance and the
171 power exercised by the sister's son over his maternal uncle's
177 family, crept into both Tonga and Samoa from Fiji. Of the
[534] material objects that spread from Fiji to western Polynesia,
the pan-pipes form a good example. The fact that a number
of elements of Melanesian culture reached Tonga and Samoa,
but penetrated no further eastward into the rest of Polynesia, would indicate that the diffusion was local and probably fairly recent in pre-European times. The restricted character of the diffusion forms an argument against the theory that the route of the Polynesians from Indonesia passed through Melanesia and hence supports the view of the alternate route through Micronesia.

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Figure 2—Lashing technique of Tongan pan-pipes.
Figure 3—*a* Modern pan-pipe made in Samoa.
b Pan-pipe from Solomon Islands.
Figure 4—*a* Pan-pipe in British Museum wrongly attributed to New Zealand.
b Pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
c Pan-pipe from New Hebrides (British Museum).

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to 582
his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. 605
None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin [565]
marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu be- 784
tween brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein 562
the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more 584
probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard [551]
was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains 784
of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this 554
rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked 264
by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of 753
still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he 755
suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut [272]
after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be [171]
noted later.

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming 784
to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright 576 753
term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and 521
the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are 565
treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed [171]
companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence
of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and 276
in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of 574
Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the 643
Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of 643
the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and
the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished.
In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island [642]
kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne
by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on
European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also 643
an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed 644
at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of
Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan [173]
Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan
woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning
"flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as
"Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed
with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements
have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from
the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for 643
brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of 644
runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with 276 574
such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but
good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each
man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding
might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on
the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

I should now like to add an expression of my deepest gratitude to all who have assisted in the work of which these papers are the result. The project was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Social Science Research Committee of the University of New Zealand, without whose assistance the study could not have been made at all. Professor W. R. Geddes made valuable suggestions in regard to the initial definition of the problem, and as he went away on leave before I left Auckland, the task of direction fell on the shoulders of Professor R. Piddington. In the field I was assisted in a great many ways by people who cannot all be mentioned, but in particular I would wish to add the following to those already mentioned: the Hon. Tu'i Pelehake, Minister of Lands in Tonga, and the members of the Lands Department there; the Chairman of the Copra Board in Tonga; the Hon. G. R. Powles, High Commissioner for Western Samoa, for permission to do research in Western Samoa and for putting me in most effective touch with the officers in his Lands Department; Mr. Ian Stirling (Chief Surveyor) and other members of the Lands Department in Western Samoa; and Mr. Pulotu McCarthy—a wise old man whose family I had met in New Zealand and who provided me with quarters in Apia. In Fiji, my friend Mr. G. J. T. Hansen, Secretary to the Native Lands Trust Board, brought me up-to-date on the latest developments in native land policy there. 122

1—Historical Background of Tongan Land Tenure

The main features of the land tenure system operating in Tonga 421
today are well documented. In a moment I shall be summarising them 423
before proceeding to a consideration of how the legal plan is actually 128
applied to realities on the ground, and of the ways in which the system is related to the organisation of social affairs in village life.
But at this point it would be well to point out that as it is set out in 171
the various legislative enactments of the Government of Tonga,[2] the 421
system is, in one major respect, well out of the ordinary run of land 423
tenure systems in Oceanic societies: this is its individualistic character.[3] Although this is decidedly unusual within the context of land tenure in Western Polynesia, it is not so extraordinary if considered in relation to the traditional form of Tongan society.

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[2] The most important are the Land Act 1927 (Chapters XXVII of *The Law of Tonga*); the Land Act (Amendment) Act 1934; and the Leases (Renewal) Act (No. 15 of 1934). 113

[3] The distinction between "individualistic" and "communalistic" forms of tenure is not always easy to draw, but in this context I shall mean by "individualistic" that in principle one and only one individual is regarded and accepted as having sole rights to a piece of land. Rights may vary in type from absolute ownership of the soil to merely usufructuary rights; but the distinction is irrelevant, for the definition applies *given* these rights. Such an individual may, if he wishes, confer some of the benefits of these rights upon others, but this does not give them a right other than that which he has himself agreed to give. Such a system differs fundamentally from a "communalistic" one in which the rights involved are conferred upon a group of individuals *at the same time*, so that each of them has a right *equal* to that of each of the other members of the group. All powers of administration repose in the whole group, and although certain members only may appear to exercise them, they are clearly recognised to be acting *for* and on behalf of all members. Under such powers they can regulate priorities as to actual use of the land.

In terms of the traditional social and political organisation, all 421
land in Tonga belonged to the sacred Tui Tonga. After the familiar 423
feudal fashion (for traditional Tongan society was a "fully developed 565
feudal system"[4]), there were chiefs who were "lords of large districts 643
of territory"[5] and who held their lands from the king in return for 427
taxes and military service. These "principal barons, as they may be [602]
called"[6] sublet their holdings to their lesser kinsmen and followers,
and everyone held land from his superior in a pattern similar to that
between the king himself and his barons. Gifford quotes W. D.
Alexander in this connection as follows:[7]

> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in
> fief." The great landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject
> to the king, and they in turn subdivided them among their kinsmen and
> followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for [701]
> military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king [651]
> received a general tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the
> order, claimed the service or property of their tenants. The lowest
> order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The "Tuas"
> could not call anything their own. The great chiefs could seize on
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives [466]
> could assess labor upon the whole community whenever he pleased.
> The chiefs also claimed a share of all the fish taken by their tenants. [226]
> The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the Society and [171]
> Hawaiian Islands. On a father's death his property descended to his
> children. On the mother's death her property remained with her [428]
> husband and children, not excepting her *dower* land, which did not
> revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, where tribal
> tenure prevailed.

This passage needs some elaboration to be entirely clear, for it is 613
closely associated with the lineage organisation of Tonga. The Tongan 565
lineage, known as the *ha'a*, was based upon patrilineal descent, but 622
depended upon the existence of a powerful chief (i.e., an eldest son in a line of eldest sons) at its head to preserve it. With the political vicissitudes of these chiefs, however, their lineages waxed and waned, and at times the weak ones were absorbed by the stronger ones so that *structurally* drastic realignments would occur. The Tongan *ha'a* was therefore not a pure lineage in the classical sense, but a political association of people around a lineage core under a powerful chief. This clarifies Alexander's reference to "kinsmen and followers", for a lineage contained both; and to "the great landlords", who were the heads of these lineages.

What was the role of such a lineage organisation in land tenure? 613
Referring to the present, Gifford says that "the lands of each lineage in 421
Tongatabu tend to form a compact area"[8] and refers to a map which 423
427

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[4] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[5] Cook 1784a:412, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[6] loc. cit.
[7] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[8] Gifford 1929:33.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

This table shows that it is certainly not a case of "every household 592
being related to every other household", and emphasizes the compara- 602
tive independence of Tongan households. All the same the figures are
remarkably low, even for a Tongan village, I am told. How is this to
be explained?

It seems that at least part of the explanation is to be found in the 621
fact that there are so many people in the village who come from a 592
different area: 47 of the 106 households in the village are those of men 166
who are not of local origin, their places of origin being tabulated
below:[34]

TABLE 4

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Place of Origin of Head of Household	No. of Households
Niuafo'ou	6
Niuatoputapu	3
Ha'apai	18
Vava'u	8
Tungua	3
Eua	4
Other (mainly villages in Tongatapu)	5
	47

Now 47 out of 106, representing 44.5 per cent of all the house- [171]
holds in the village, is an unusually high figure compared with, for
instance, Fiji. From discussions in Tonga, I am told that it is also
a high figure even for a Tongan village, so that this village must be
regarded as atypical in this respect. But why this unusual feature?

The land tenure system, of course, in its principles opens up the [423]
possibility for movement from one area to another in search of land,
and may be expected to produce effects of the type noticed in this
village. In fact, however, explanation of the mixed nature of the village [361]
population was given to me in terms of the relatively central position
of the village and its proximity to the capital town and to the schools
and other institutions situated in or around it. Something of this was 621
seen in B's comment on p. 102; but it can be confirmed by figures relating 592
to the distribution of land in the village itself. Below is a table of the 423
relative distribution of land among households of local and of immi- 166
grant origin respectively:

TABLE 5

RELATIVE LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG LOCAL AND IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Api per Household	No. of Households		Percentage of Households in Each Category	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
0	7	20	12	42.5
1	39	23	66	49
2	7	4	12	8.5
3	4	—	6.5	—
4	2	—	3.5	—
	59	47	100.0	100.0

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[34] The first six places named are other islands in the Tongan Group, except Ha'apai, which is a group of islands within the Tongan Group.

33: Palmer A-4 (no date) 1963 ·OU9 Tonga OU9

CONCLUSION

000 Pottery from site 20, Fiji, displays certain rim forms, vessel shapes and decorative techniques that are also found in site 21, except that sherds with the *pointillé* style of fine incised decoration are lacking. It also shows that both paddle and anvil and hand-moulding techniques were in use in the manufacture of vessels. The flat-bottomed dish shape, the extensive use of outcurving flat rims, and the notched edging on the lip are paralleled in early pottery from sites in New Caledonia or the Ile des Pins on the one hand and Tonga on the other hand.[14] In view of the fact that these sand hills may be exported for their iron ore content, it might be worthwhile that more extensive surface collections and some excavations were undertaken there in the immediate future.[15]

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Eastern Polynesian-Type Adzes from Tonga

By J. B. PALMER

412 [128] 412 171 These notes describe two gripped or tanged adzes of a rare type in west Polynesia.[1] Few adzes from this area show a triangular cross-section with the apex to the front which, in some cases, has been reduced in width to form a ridge, except where the bevel modifies the cross-section. Many archaeologists and ethnologists, particularly in New Zealand, know this adze as the hog-back, its more familiar name. Golson records the almost complete absence of the type from the adze collections he examined in Tonga[2] so that any localised specimen is important for present studies in the type's distribution, not only in Tonga itself but in the whole of west Polynesia.

127 [122] Both specimens are part of a very fine Oceanic collection in the Pigorini Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory in Rome and the Museum's Director, Dr. P. Sestieri, has kindly allowed me to publish these notes and drawings. The adzes were acquired from J. F. G. Umlauff of Hamburg in March 1886 by E. H. Giglioli, whose collection forms the major part of the Pigorini Museum's Oceanic material. A feature of the Giglioli material is the detailed information on the labels which gives provenance, tribal names where known and references to descriptions of similar specimens in the literature. Giglioli's labels can be considered an accurate record of Umlauff's informa-

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[1] Golson 1959:3.

[2] Golson 1957:7.

35: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1919
OU9 Tonga OU9

heard, or would have been heard had there been anyone to hear them, and forth leapt a pair of twins, male and female, called Biki and Kele. Again the tremblings and rumblings, and another pair of twins, male and female, Atungake and Maimoalongona, came forth. Again convulsions of nature, followed as before by a portentous birth, this third pair being named Fonu-uta (Land-turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea-turtle). Once more the rock endured the pangs of labour, and bore the fourth and last pair of twins, Hemoana (Sea-serpent) and Lube (Dove). These being apparently the sole inhabitants of the universe, matrimonial choice could be exercised only within severely restricted limits, but the difficulty was surmounted by each pair of twins setting up house-keeping. And with the happiest results. The union of Biki and Kele was blessed by the birth of a son, Taufulifonua, and later a daughter, Havealolofonua. To Atungake and Maimoalongona was born a daughter, Velelahi, whilst Fonu-uta and Fonu-vai also became the parents of a daughter, Velejii. 539

As behoved kind and prudent parents, Biki and Kele next addressed themselves to the task of procuring a patrimony for their offspring, and by means unrecorded accomplished the difficult feat of causing to spring up a country called Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), to which their children Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua were taken. The brother and sister proved desirable in each other's eyes, and to them was born one of the greatest divinities in the Tongan pantheon, Hikuleo (perhaps Echo, and apparently a female divinity). Naturally enough in the legends of a people whose chiefs commonly had more wives than one, Taufulifonua's love for Havealolofonua was no bar to there being a partner in his affections. Havealolofonua, in fact, is represented as herself going away and seriously depleting the supply of marriageable young ladies by securing the heart and hand of Velelahi for her brother-husband. If 539
a moral breach can ever be excused by results, this bigamous
transaction should certainly be condoned, for Velelahi became 776
the mother of a tribe of deities known throughout Polynesia, 171
the Tangaloa, of whom there seem to have been five. The eldest Tangaloa rejoiced in the unwieldy but euphonious name of

35: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1919
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Tama-bouli-kae-ala-mafoa (Darkness heralding the Dawn). 776 The next was called Tangaloa-eiki (Tangaloa the Chief). After him came Eitumatubua; the fourth was Tangaloa-tufunga [171] (Tangaloa the Craftsman), and the youngest Tangaloa-atu-longo-longo.

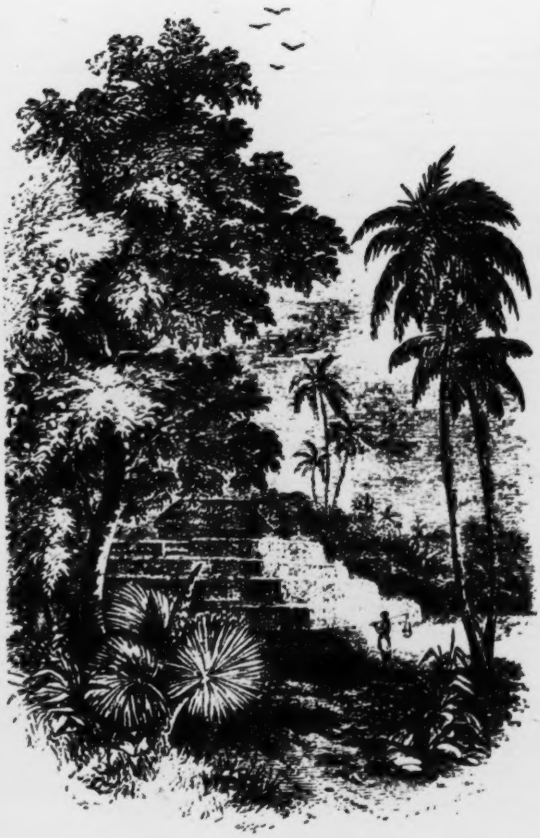
[643] The chiefs of Tonga are of divine lineage, and the link between god and chief is supplied by Eitumatubua, who was the father of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, or supreme sacred chief of Tonga.

539 After this happy issue of her match-making efforts the faithful and public-spirited Havealolofonua sought and obtained the remaining marriageable maiden amongst her contemporaries, Velejii, as a partner for Biki, and of this new union sprang another famous line of gods, the Maui—Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui-atulanga, who in his turn became the father of a son, Maui-kijikiji, though deponent knoweth not who was the mother of the latter youth. Maui-kijikiji, though he enjoys the reputation of having been a reprobate young rascal, wrought for mortals a priceless work by breaking down the divine monopoly in fire and securing its use to us lesser dwellers on earth.

Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua, having now the oversight of so numerous a family, bestirred themselves to apportion habitations for the various groups. To the Tangaloas was assigned the sky, to the Mauis were allotted dwellings under the earth, Hemoana's sphere was the sea, Lube's the land and forest, and to Hikuleo was granted the Tongan paradise, Bulotu. A sore restriction, however, was placed upon Hikuleo, though with benevolent intent, for any place which she might visit was doomed to sure destruction. To prevent, therefore, such calamitous peregrinations the goddess was bound by a great rope, of which one end was held by the Tangaloas in the sky, and the other by the Mauis under the earth.

In course of time Tangaloa-atulongolongo determined on a visit to earth, so going down he entered into a snipe, but, like a better known bird, this winged wanderer found no rest for the sole of his foot, but water everywhere. Appearances, however, were not wholly discouraging, as one small spot showed

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



Early engraving of a *langi*. The house on 764
top was for the major *matapule* to dwell
in while presiding over the extensive 766
burial and mourning ceremonies of the 349
Tu'i Tonga. Such remarkable stone
structures represented the epitome of
Tongan architectural skill and 764
socio-political organization; however, in
general, structures were more 766
complicated in style and function in 349
central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, 324
where altars for worship and human
sacrifice, god houses, temples, and other [171]
sacred enclosures or *marae* were more
elaborate). The art of stone masonry [177]
probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did
the design for the Tongan *kalia* or double [501]
canoe; however, the Tongans were
characteristically quick to adopt and
expand upon new ideas, so they soon
became more highly developed than the
Fijians in stone work.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha langi 'i ono'aho. Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he funga langi lolotonga 'enau ngaahi ngaue 'i hono telio 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e faka'ofo'ofa 'a hono langa e ngaahi langi 'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u mavahe atu 'a hono fai e langa 'aki e maka 'i he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe na'e ma'u 'e Tonga mei Fisi 'a e fa'ahinga ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo fakalaka 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga langa ni.

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed ex- 161
pectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors 162
concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, 166
of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and 361
unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of
Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more con-
gested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for
social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new [571]
social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin [602]
groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with
population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors in-
fluencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and [178]
important being education, which permits social mobility in a society [871]
still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to [555]
achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even [565]
the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has [436]
many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems [171]
and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts
of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to 166
Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development 179
policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among 361
islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu
overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of oppor-
tunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to 178
meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

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[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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an allotment partly-to-fully planted in coconuts, 245
and two types of land use (which in neighbouring 241
parts of the Pacific are largely kept separate) are increasingly being combined on the same site.

While inter-cropping amongst coconuts has [171]
become common in Southeast Asia and has many economic and technical advantages under systems of more continuous cropping (F.A.O., 1966), under present Tongan conditions the result is not satisfactory.[1] Coconut yields may be temporarily improved by the occasional clearing of the bush growth for new gardens, but the burning of the cut vegetation scars the base of the palms and once a garden is finished the fallow vegetation is allowed to grow up around the coconuts to form a tangled mass. This fallow growth not only competes with the palms for plant nutrients and soil moisture but also makes it difficult for the grower to collect the nuts. Competition also comes from the crops planted, for no attempt is made to keep a clear space around each palm and, except in the case of bananas and watermelons, no fertilizer is used. Consequently only where a cash crop that will pay the cost of fertilizing is grown is inter-cropping probably of benefit to coconut yields, and where coconuts and food crops are grown together the yields of both are reduced by competition, shading and damage to the root systems of the coconuts. As yet, there is therefore no satisfactory integration between the bush fallow food cropping system and the coconut plantation.

THE EFFECT OF POPULATION GROWTH ON AGRICULTURE 121

The effect of population growth on the agricultural system outlined above can be studied by examining the system in the more densely populated areas of the Kingdom (the areas in which the system is now under the greatest pressure from population growth), and by comparing agrarian conditions in these areas with those in the less densely populated districts. This aspect of the study is here confined to Tongatapu and the Ha'apai Group (excluding Tofua and Kao), which are made up of islands basically similar in climate, topography and soil.

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[1] This account describes the situation before the current Coconut Replanting Scheme began to have a significant effect on Tongan agriculture.

[p. 60-A]

population growth over the last three decades, and 241
consequently the rate of increase in the intensity of 182
cropping, has probably been more rapid than the
rate at which Tongan farmers are willing to change
their established methods and particularly their
habits of work. By contrast, the more elaborate [171]
techniques used by the New Guinea agriculturalists
discussed by Brookfield (1962) and Clarke (1966)
appear to have been developed over a lengthy period
under conditions of slow population growth. Fur- 242
thermore, in the past the Department of Agriculture 654
has done very little experimental or extension work 182
on the problem of maintaining soil fertility under 241
food cropping, and most of the technical advice
given has concerned cash crops. Consequently many
Tongan farmers have little knowledge of the techniques
that could be adopted, and unlike shifting
cultivators in some other areas they have had no
contact with peoples practising more advanced
systems of subsistence agriculture.[2] They also have 241
no tradition of livestock farming (except with pigs) 231
which could be developed into an intensive farming 182
system based on manuring, as is found in parts of
Africa.

The relevance of Boserup's thesis to the process 128
of agricultural change in Tonga may now be briefly
reviewed. While none of the material presented 114
above conflicts with her thesis that the intensifica- 241
tion of traditional agricultural systems occurs only 182
when forced by population pressure, for it is evident
that differences in the intensity of cropping in Tonga
are related to differences in population density
rather than to differences in land quality, it does
suggest some qualifications to her argument.

Firstly, not all of the adaptations made by Tongan 241
farmers to population growth have involved in- 182
creases in labour input, for one response has been
to adopt a high yielding and easily cultivated crop
such as cassava.[3] Secondly, a good deal of intensification
seems possible without necessitating basic
changes in the agricultural system. Short-term in-

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[2] Compare the comments by Boserup (1965, pp.41, 64).

[3] On the other hand more labour is now required for clearing [433]
and weeding gardens and yields have probably been affected
by the decline in soil fertility, but whether the net result has
been a decline in output per man-hour is impossible to determine
in the absence of data on labour inputs and production.

creases in population, resulting in say a doubling 241 in the intensity of cropping, may therefore not bring about significant changes in agricultural techniques, 182 even when quite high levels of intensity are reached. Thirdly, an imbalance between the rate of increase [171] in the intensity of cropping and the rate of agricultural change may also be expected in areas experiencing rapid population growth, and where farmers have little knowledge of innovations which could be adopted, a situation which applies in other parts of the Pacific besides Tonga.

Probably the major limitation on the usefulness 241 of Boserup's thesis under present Tongan conditions, 182 however, is the fact that population growth is only one factor influencing agricultural change, 178 for the increasing commercialization of Tongan life has affected the whole of the agricultural system. Involvement in cash cropping has helped to encourage [245] the adoption of food crops which require less labour, and has added to the pressure on the bush-fallow system through the increased planting of coconuts, bananas and other crops.[1]

The current Coconut Replanting Scheme appears 245 likely to modify further the food cropping system. 241 Firstly, the increased density of palms resulting from new planting, and the restriction on cropping around each palm reduces the area available for other crops. Secondly, the need to keep down the bush growth around the new palms and to avoid any burning which would damage them places severe restrictions on the practices of bush fallowing and slashing and burning. Thirdly, if the Scheme's aim of high productivity is to be achieved and the maximum benefit gained from the selected seed nuts the continued use of fertilizers is essential and is being strongly encouraged. The eventual replacement 000 of the bush fallow as the technique for maintaining soil fertility in Tonga may therefore be as much a result of the requirements of commercial agricul-

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[1] In times of good export prices farmers buy much of their food and subsistence cropping declines.

out the Folk Tales

643 all. In similar positions of sovereignty were the Pharaohs
[171] of Egypt and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

771 As polytheism prevailed during these times, it was
182 the many different gods who were responsible for
creating and maintaining social relationships within
the society; for the system of taboos (enforced by the
gods or fear of the gods), which were early Tonga's
informal means of social control, kept law and order.
[538] The extent of the influence of the gods on Tongan
thinking is revealed in the folk tales: "Son of the Sun,"
"Crying Princess," "Daughter of a Clam," and "Rainbow
and Her Daughter."

643 Since the *Tu'i Tonga* was believed to be a direct
776 descendant of the gods, he was himself regarded as a
771 god; in effect, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the gods' representa-
643 tive on earth. Thus, a series of rituals, taboos and myths
771 were associated with the *Tu'i Tonga*'s position. His wish
was law; furthermore, his possessions and his person
were so sacred that they were not to be touched by
any unauthorized person without the threat of severe
[538] punishment, probably death. The paramount superi-
ority ascribed to the *Tu'i Tonga* is noted in "Prohibitions Ignored," "Son of the Sun," and "Tukunga
Kautā."

775 Tonga's underworld, called Pulotu, was the abode
565

46: Decktor Korn

OU9 Tonga OU9

171

[For further information on other societies that the author considers "loosely structured," similar to Tonga, see Category 121, pp. 256-265.]

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated 361
for many weeks at a time and their people more independent [505]
of money and markets than people living on the bigger
islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were [162]
27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand
people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the
total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a 361
position to investigate it, these village-islands may be 621
different in their political structure from villages that 184
are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages.
Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a [511]
simpler material standard of living than villages on
Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is
less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, 621
however, that the village is probably not a significant 184
unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness
of the people living there, for--as we shall see
in later chapters--villages as such are not significant
units of organization. In this regard it is interesting 621
to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages 184
in Fiji: 171

> However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

592 621 did emerge from examination of the material relating to attached individuals was that it was the larger households that tended to have the added membership of attached [171] individuals. However, even this point seemed at variance with what might have been expected on the basis of comparative data from other societies, which show households lacking in members compensating by the addition of attached individuals (Goody 1972: 17-18).

592 128 596 In attempting to account for the extent of diversity revealed by enumeration of Motulahi households according to the culturally significant notion of family groups, I tried to analyze the data in terms of other variables. One basis for analysis was suggested by the stated norms of intra-family behavior and other patterns of respect in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance, the authority of the senior male vis-a-vis junior males, and the reverence due the father's sister. However, the observed composition of multiple-family-group households did not accord with the pattern one might expect on the basis of these norms (see Table 13).[4] While the plurality of households with family groups related through the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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[602] [593] [4] A listing of the stated norms of intra-family behavior is given in most pieces of writing on kinship in Tonga. However, as Morton shows in his dissertation (1972), there is little or no correlation between these norms and actual patterns of relationships among Tongan villagers.

591 household, but economic necessity or expediency. So far
592 as household organization is concerned, what Leach wrote
171 591 about the Sinhalese could apply equally well to Tonga:

> 592 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960: 123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must
611 be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household on Tongatapu consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, plus petty cash for items such as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally-cultivated
262 subsistence products. A lot of tuberous vegetables are
264 eaten--about one pound per person per day. A typical everyday main meal consists of haka (a pot of boiled sweet-potato, manioc, yam, plantain, taro, or breadfruit--according to what is available on a seasonal or daily basis) plus a small amount of kiki ('relish'--i.e., some form of animal meat), or a stew (supo) made of the same ingredients. A modest morning or evening meal might consist only of cold leftovers or, in the morning, tōpai (a thick porridge of flour and water) and cocoa to drink. Kiki for the main

121 the organization needed to harvest crops on a large scale and the rigid social structure needed in some areas to keep people functioning cooperatively are instructive and point in what I believe to be the right direction.

From my reading of the literature, a common element in societies that have been described as loosely structured is the absence of overarching organization at the local level--there are no councils that coordinate the various activities of diverse local groups and no chiefs with wide-ranging authority over the people living under their jurisdiction. In this dissertation we have noted the absence of over-arching organization at the local level of Tongan society. This element, moreover, is typical of political organization in New Guinean societies, and is a notable element of contrast between the African societies described as loosely structured and neighboring more
121 tightly structured societies. It is also instructive to
171 note the contrast between Samoa and Tonga, the major island groups in the Western Polynesia culture area. The two have many social and cultural elements in common, but are significantly different with respect to political organization at the local level--see the contrast in the institution of the fono, described in Chapter VI--and also appear to differ on the variable of loose structure. One cannot be sure that Samoan society is not loosely

12| structured, since--except for accounts of the Samoan system 17| of cognatic descent groups (see Ember 1962, Freeman 1964, Tiffany 1975)--it has not been described in terms relating to this variable. However, as Kirsch (1969) and others writing on the concept of loose structure have pointed out, anthropologists tend to remark on the phenomenon of loose structure while its absence is not noted.

12| I suggest that a tentative explanation for the relationship between loose structure and the absence of overarching organization at the local level can be formulated as follows: since there is no overarching organization to monitor compliance with prescribed relationships among the various groups found at the local level, the individual has a notable measure of autonomy vis-a-vis these groups; he can move among them and adjust his relationships to each in the way that he finds most advantageous given his particular circumstances. Besides this, a related point to be considered is that considerable variation in individual behavior is possible where there is no overarching organization to enforce conformity with specific norms or prescriptions for behavior. Thus we find 'individualism' and 'individualistic behavior' being characteristic of societies where there is no overarching organization at the local level. Considerable variation in behavior is condoned, or at least tolerated, because--short of calling on higher

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been 592
flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on 596
another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their 2-year-old 591
daughter. Matiu remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring household of Tomasi, his oldest brother. After he was flooded out in the rainstorm, he came to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved in to a newly built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events within the next few years: the unmarried children when they marry, and 'Aisea and his family if he has the means to set up his own household and chooses to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group is only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children did not move away to establish their own households—in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household can be seen as part of a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Matiu and of Mele and Solo and their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite its irregularity from their own point of view.[8]

CRITERIA OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY

One of the most important considerations in determining whether a 592
man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local
goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly [591]
married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to
take up residence in a parental household, but economic expediency. So 602
far as household organization is concerned, what Leach has written 592
about the Sinhalese could equally apply to Tonga: 171

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[8] In footnote 3, it was suggested that some of the people participating in the census of 1966 might have represented their family groups as comprising independent single-family-unit households, when in fact they were not, because they regarded their not being independent households as a temporary situation. Viliami's household offers instances of this situation.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> 602 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the
> 592 expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the
> ● 171 prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese
> order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their
> kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their
> economic lives (1960:123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient
to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday
material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and
labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of
592 foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares,
511 matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally
cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor
available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for
human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread,
flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and
amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is
available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
[651] members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every
[774] male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses
[871] for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing
592 and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases
511 and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which
434 are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members
of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[762] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the
coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare
[433] handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making
[438] activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks
preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms
and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed
for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to
provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make
434 adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of
431 ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the
285 year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods
287 called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial
occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds
[554] (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is
[571] amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

613 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha'a*,
612 especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than
565 once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional.
557 Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue'aonga'aki*
'ene faingamālie, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the
advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 The second point of similarity between *ha'a* and *famili* is that descent—
or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an accept-
612 able claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership.
565 This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious
611 contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to
many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, member-
[171] ship is activated by the person himself: in the *ha'a*, by asserting his claim
to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating
in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of
613 kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two
different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or
612 social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society.
One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an
individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities.
These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic
[554] sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern
in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to
[565] high rank at the societal level.

114 On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on
the *ha'a* in Tonga, Sahlins(35) came to certain conclusions about essential
171 differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the
local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of
Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be
re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not
denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty
basis for generalising about an entire society.

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35. 1958.

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49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

GARTH ROGERS

Systematic development of agricultural resources was the prime concern 654
of Tonga's first development plan (1965–1970), the main effort and spending
being allocated to a comprehensive Coconut Replanting Scheme.
Banana exports to New Zealand and Japan have fluctuated although 439
they have gradually increased throughout the 1960s. But other agricultural
exports—such as watermelons, fungus, groundnuts, pineapples, vegetables
and ginger—comprise only a very small fraction of the total exports.
Other crops are either completely absorbed by home consumption or are, 433
as yet, only in an experimental stage.

A fishing industry has been established in Nuku'alofa with the aid of 228
Japanese experts but in 1968 it was barely supplying the home market.
Local private fishermen would sell a string of small fresh fish, in all about
three to four pounds, for about fifty *seniti* (NZ50c). Fish was sold in the 655
government market at intervals of about two weeks but the supply rarely 443
lasted more than one day. Tuna and shark caught by the government
vessel were refrigerated in the government market and sold for ten and
four *seniti* per pound respectively. Labourers' wages at that time in
Nuku'alofa were one *pa'anga* (100 *seniti*) per day. By early 1969 small [439]
shipments of crayfish tails were being transhipped to the United States
via Fiji by an Australian fisherman who owned his own craft but employed
local Ha'apai labour.

* * *

A very high proportion (75.57% or 57,526) of the total Tongan popula- 162
tion was classified in the 1966 census as "economically inactive", that is, 464
as persons not engaged in any form of "industry" ranging from subsistence
agriculture to public service. Included in this category were 16,308 or
81.3% of all adult Tongan women who were engaged in "home duties",
all children under fifteen years of age, and all who were students over
fifteen years or retired. It should be understood, however, that women 462
perform some important economic tasks such as assistance with food- 162
gathering and copra-making. Moreover, according to the traditional
division of labour in Tonga, women make mats, baskets and bark-cloth
as part of their "home duties". Nevertheless, only 1,013 or 5.0% of adult
Tongan women were engaged in activities other than these.[7] No Tongan
women were listed as employed in "government and administration"
(excluding government clerks); 607 or 3.02% of all adult Tongan women
(compared with 1,715 Tongan males) were listed as employed in "services"
(religious, educational, medical, personal; not transport); 173 or 0.86%
(compared with 180 Tongan males) in "commerce"; and only 18 or
0.089% (compared with 579 Tongan males) in "part-manufacturing and
processing" industries.[8] In Tonga, the traditional idea and practice that [562]
man is the provider and head of the household still persists.

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[7] TONGA, 1968: Table 12b, 72–74.

[8] In 1961, 9.5% of all adult Western Samoan women were classified as "economically [171]
active" (excluding "village agriculture"); 7.9% of all adult women, mainly the
15–29 age-group, were engaged in "industry" of one sort or another. The 1966
Cook Island census (pp. 5, 55) lists 1,620 adult Cook Island women or 35.4% of
all adult females as "economically active" of whom 1,032 resided in Rarotonga.
Cook Island women engaged in manufacturing numbered 301 (compared with

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation

*by Adrienne L. Kaeppler**

Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu

114 In the pages of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1941, Te Rangi
174 Hiroa described a number of Polynesian panpipes, including two Tongan
specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook, and attempted in his final
paragraph to use panpipes as evidence to support his view on the
migration of the Polynesians through Micronesia. In the intervening
years, new studies of Tongan material culture, Captain Cook, and Polynesian
migrations have made additional information available and it
128 seems appropriate to place this information on record. These remarks
will be divided into three parts. First, it will be shown that panpipes
can support an alternative migration route to that proposed by Hiroa.
Second, the Cook voyage attribution of panpipes will be discussed.
Third, the musical and aesthetic properties of Tongan panpipes and
their relation to social organization will be explored.

174 Recent archaeological and linguistic research indicates that "proto-
Oceanic people" reached Tonga by 1500 B.C., having traveled through
the Melanesian area probably before much of it was inhabited by
peoples we now call Melanesians (see Green 1966, 1967, 1968; Golson
1971; Groube 1972). These studies, of course, have not attempted to
determine or even suggest what kind of musical instruments these people
531 used. However, the most widespread musical instrument in Polynesia
171 at the time of European contact was the bamboo noseflute, which was
175 found in nearly all of the island groups except New Zealand -- where
bamboo was not available and a different group of wind instruments
evolved. From this widespread distribution one would assume that the

[p. 102]

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171 114
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 175
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola.* [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533]
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older [192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bam-
boo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of
Cook and Labillardière -- Tongans today are not familiar with the
instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke.* The demise of bamboo
stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not
fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe (*mimika*), likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is
not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the
British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 122 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 981-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to 122 express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 ●171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, 644
Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565
every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276
Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is
generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574
cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512]
it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643]
drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771
been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly
agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776
superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771]
The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King
called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184]
the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them
health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all 782
they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

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fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has [644]
been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not
kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his [602]
nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to
Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's [643]
presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264]
Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods—
Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa [771]
did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first
Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- [771]
divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god,
shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or [773]

[775]

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. 346 Their Morias or Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the 764 latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony 764 used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.[1]

I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with 128 giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

Latitude and Longitude

	°	′	″
131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu by the mean of several observations			

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776 'otua (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but com- 771 moners came, as it were, to a dead end. 'They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but 771 the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fatta- 773 fai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large 775 house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock 777 to be an Eatooa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon &[c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, coud furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

[1] The interpretation of 'stone coffins' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

where we found several people bathing, but the water was too salt to
use and we always found that what they call'd good water was almost 312
intolerable to us, a sure proof that they are entire strangers to it
generally speaking. In one place where it still continued to run out
from under the rock it was somewhat fresher, & might probably be
still more so the longer the water ebb'd, but it was difficult to say
whether this would have been a constant source supposing the tide
never reach'd it, or only a certain quantity wash'd from the earth
during the time the last remaind in these vacuitys and mix'd with it.

When we return'd in the evening Poulaho had a pretty large hog 643
dressd for our entertainment, with Yams, Cocoa nuts &c and after-
wards provided us with as good a lodging as his house could afford, 648
giving us mats to sleep on and cloth to cover us, but our host had
made himself so happy with some wine & brandy we had brought
that it was a matter of much indifference to him where he lay.

FRIDAY 27th. The Wind ESE. Moderate breezes fine weather. In the 132
morning Poulaho told us he was going presently to perform a cere-
mony call'd Tooge[1] which they do at the death of their relations and 304
even in other distressing situations. It is done by striking the highest
part of the cheek bone alternately with the inside of the fists for some 763
time, which abrades the skin and makes the blood flow out in a
considerable quantity, at the same time accompanying it with a dole-
full kind of cry or weeping. We were glad to have an opportunity of [276]
seeing a custom so universal that perhaps eight in ten of them retain
the marks of having perform'd it, and great numbers of them very
recent, at which time it looks as if a hollow circle [were] burnt in;
but were disappointed at last, for though he went to an inclosure
where a large circle of people were sitting to drink Kava we saw no
other ceremony than he and the people that were with him putting
some green leaves about their necks, which they broke and threw
down when they came to the place. We had seen them drinking the 216
Kava sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as
here, where it seems the only forenoon employment of the principal 171
people and the drinking it is confin'd to them only, unless they chance 517
to prepare a little more than is wanted when it is distributed to any 565
person indifferently. The Kava is a species of pepper[2] which they
cultivate for this purpose and esteem it a valuable article, taking 249
great care to defend the young plants from any injury and commonly
plant it about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a mans
height, though I have seen some plants almost double that, and

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[1] *tuki.*

[2] *Piper methysticum.*

sufferd to shoot into a trunk, and the coarser sort which they sleep 462
upon from a plant call'd E'varra.[1] There are many other articles of
less note that employ their spare time, as combs of which they make 285
vast numbers, little baskets made of the same substance as the matts [824]
and others of the fibrous Cocoa nut husk, either plain or interwoven [245]
with small beads, but all made with such neatness and taste in the [248]
disposition of the different varietys, which are very numerous, that a
stranger cannot help looking with pleasure at their assiduity and
dexterity. Every person knows the beautifull character that Solomon 462
has drawn of an industrious women and the happy consequences
that attend it, and we may almost venture to say that Solomon in
that character has included a true picture of all the women of Tonga.
The province alloted to the men is as might be expected far more
laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, Archi- [241]
tecture, Boat building, Fishing and other things that relate to Naviga- [341]
tion are the objects of their care. I would not wish to refer to any [396]
thing prior to the date of this voyage to illustrate any circumstance 226
by, when I can avoid it, as it would be interweaving subjects that [502]
ought to be seperate unless every person knew them as well as myself,
but I cannot help relating here an observation which may have been 562
made before, though not to my knowledge, which is that in all the
places I have visited in these seas the degree of civilization that has 171
taken place amongst them may be known by the attention they pay
to the fair sex. Those in a very barbarous state treat their women
with such a degree of rudeness or rather brutality and at the same
time indifference that they seem to think them not so much intended
as a companion, or to be upon the same scale with themselves, as a
set of beings every way inferior to them and only fit for such mean
offices as they would not stoop to. On the contrary as civilization has
advanc'd we find them not only eas'd of those laborious employ-
ments which their natural delicacy of frame requires, but treated
with that respect to which they are often more justly entitled than
their lordly masters, and have even a great sway in the management
of affairs. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support 241
requires their constant attention to Agriculture, which they pursue
very diligently and seem to have brought to as much perfection
almost as circumstances will admitt of. The land about Mooa though 241
so well planted is scarcely equal to that part of the island where Cap^t 311
Cook anchor'd in 1773, and from Mooa to the NE point which is all
the places we have seen it is tolerable, from whence one might sup-
pose, if the unseen parts are in the same proportion, that two thirds

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[1] *fala* was the word for sleeping-mat, not for a plant. The pandanus was called *fa*.

Ma'tangee	The wind	
Gee'fai	Where	104
A'fai	When	
+ 'Reta	Anger	
+ 'Patoo	A stroke—To strike	
+ A'faia	How many	
'Koukou	To bathe	
+ 'Loee, or Lohee	A lie	
+ 'Monee	Truth	
'Maha	Finished—at an end—Empty	
'Aho	The dawn or day break	
+ Le'laiee	Good	
+ Kovee	Bad	
+ La'langa	To make or fabricate	
Mohe	To sleep.	

Besides these we have been able to collect about six hundred of their 126
words, amongst which are terms that express numbers as far as a 802
hundred thousand, beyond which they never would reckon and
probably are not able, as after that they commonly us'd a word that
expresses any indeterminate number.

The number of islands we have seen are but a small part of what 101
these people know, for we have procur'd names of above a hundred
and twenty from them and they have reckon'd upwards of a hundred
and fifty to us by bits of leaves. Thirteen of these are said to be high
or hilly, such as To'fooa and O'ooa or Middleburgh, and thirty seven
large, of which I cannot tell any other method to determine the size
than by saying they must all be larger than Anna'mooka which is
rank'd amongst the smaller isles. Of these Va'vaoo has already been
mentioned as lying N° E'ly from Hapaee, which is said to have a good
harbour, is free from shoals and seems to be a pretty considerable
place from their frequent mention of it. Ha'mòà again is more 648
northerly and is said to be even larger than Tonga, which however
has conquerd it and Poulaho frequently resides in this Island.[1] It is [643]
high and has good water, producing every thing found at Tonga in
the greatest abundance. The manners of the people & their Language [171]
begin to alter here for they do not bury their dead as at Tonga but
expose them to consume on a sort of scaffolds. Their songs & dances, 177
some of which have been adopted at Tonga, are also different; & as
we have seen houses built after the model of those of Hamòà it

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[1] This last information is wrong. Tongan forces did conquer Samoa, or part of it, from perhaps the end of the 12th century, and the Tu'i Tongas did spend some time there; but they were driven out about the middle of the 13th century. Later Tongan rulers sometimes visited the group, but it does not appear that any of them did so in the 18th century. Possibly Anderson's informants were giving their own country 'a good build-up'.

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem
104 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lòà	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
[201] acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural
practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
[829] custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
177 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
231 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
171 when Captn Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
304 have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
563 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

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439 the Hogs or breadfruit, & tho' it was a contraband Trade it was
prosecuted with the greatest Activity & Spirit in defiance of the
[648] severe Penalties with which it was loaded, & in Contempt of that
[565] Danger which attended the Prosecution of this fraudulent & lucrative
Traffick. This Article was no other than red Feathers. It must be
[171] remembered that at Otaheite red Feathers are prized above anything
whatsoever, they being the most valuable offering they make to their
Gods & very scarce at that Island as they have no birds with red
Plumage, this Circumstance was found out by our Circumnavigators
last Voyage, who happening to bring a few red feathers with them
from the Marqeses found what great Value the Otaheiteans set upon
them, preferring them to every thing they had got. This being
universally known in the two Ships it is no wonder that every one
endeavoured to supply himself with a good Stock at these Islands
where they are so plentiful, tho' these people get them from another
Island. The Indians in a short time perceving our eagerness after
them raised the Price of them, so that at last they became so dear
that it was hardly worth our while to purchase them, as the Hatchets
& Shirts we gave them would fetch as much at Otaheite as the small
Quantity of Feathers they gave us for them. However every one
provided himself with a good Stock before we left these Islands &
[292] they turned out to very good Account at Otaheite. The Inhabitants
make Caps of them & various Ornaments for their Dresses, those
[301] they sold us were pasted on Cloth, & had a very beautiful appearance.

Some of us used to go every day shooting wild Ducks, a great
122 number of which were met with on a large Lagoon & some Ponds in
609 the interior Part of the Island, the Indians would generally attend us
& look out for them & when they were shot run into the Pond &
241 fetch them out. Along the large lagoon which occupies a great part
of the middle of ye Island are most delightful walks shaded from the
361 Sun by the branches that meet together over head; the Country
262 throughout is exceedingly well cultivated & has the appearance of a
beautiful Garden; nothing can be more agreeable than the Inclosures
in which their Houses stand, round which the bread fruit & Plantain
Trees grow & extend their friendly Shade over the Natives, while
they sit beneath them partaking of a delicious & wholesome Meal
supplyed by those trees that spread their umbrageous Leaves to
133 defend them from the Rays of too near a Sun. Such enchanting
Prospects does this little Isle afford that it may be said to realize the
poetical Descriptions of the Elysian Fields in ancient Writers, it is
certainly as beautiful a Spot as Immagination can paint; there are
small Hills here & there to vary the prospect, tho' they rise to no

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of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden 276
bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the
number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared 574
Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water [415]
well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in
through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a
fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl &
thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's
Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the
other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there
was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference,
after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if
there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it.
They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second
Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one [415]
leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner
did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning [643]
apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to
be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some 634
of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of 565
their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwithstanding 123
the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has
a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits [171]
& is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of
Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity;
we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the
scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are distinguished,
who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get
intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with
nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared
to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it
and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great 517
abundance & that with very little trouble or Labour to the Inhabitants,
they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed
all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the
morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements &
enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often
repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

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[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
[533] sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
[276] yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
[574] the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
[264] with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
[262] not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
[271] brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
[272] dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
[565] nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
[264] employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
[262] material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
Captⁿ Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
[252] upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
● [171] their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
[533] they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
[521] The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
[535] Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226] Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance.
417 To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
361 inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
362 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
[411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

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[1] *kali.*

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, 411
different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds,
made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and [352]
their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously [415]
carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone,
Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, &
3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little
purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a
Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane
runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long
quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel 764
about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand
two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing
in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very
neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our ap-
proaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which
are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They [846]
have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they
cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the [304]
public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-
pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds,
that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs 287
nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted [171]
afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown
gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which [291]
might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the
most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has
something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general
Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of 285
Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others
variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner,
others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit
upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their
Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

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[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery [766]
in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-
built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

344 kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine
like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold
134 Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

132 The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains
& yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great
241 Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at
Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so
231 numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid
[136 among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and
177 large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they
stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery
685 more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used
648] to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful
small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their
Houses.

The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race
302 of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong &
[141] exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black
[142] Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a
Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different
places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black,
and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice
of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the
South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes
that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea
Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces
it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent
[171] & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to
these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They
304 tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to
their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all
approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of
302 them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is
done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair
[231] while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they perform
[412] the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably
clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail
upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle
291 which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it;
others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

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[1] *pulou.*

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[1777]

192 Tāmà, or Jānà, is an appellation they use in calling to a person, the same as we do: You Sir! Friend. &c.

wei seuge! a note of Admiration

wooi! wooi! wooi! Astonishm^t

533 They have Songs of a considerable length of which the following is one

539 Offa geeva vaw / manadoo leva / edoodogamai / anobooboo / monooanaleva / wisaogee / fucabôė / dooiarafadee / caw aroo aw / eida feeda hala / manoo goo ma anoo / geeodoffa / oomea seuge / fucaboe tooihara fadai / edoai / naihehea / gonoogoomanoo / gadoogooangee / dadooadoroo / movawdoodeffa / leegooàė / geedagagavėà / enengala / pabaivagadea / oobebea /

N. The Words contained in each division is one Stave at the end of which there is a small stop.

Another song begins Feneedangeeloi / mabo-foojee &c (Maphee's Song).[1]

565 As to the Religion of these people we know nothing about it, & the same may be said of their Government, only this that it seems to be
771 quite arbitrary; it was observable that the common People stood in more awe of their Chiefs than the Otaheiteans, and that at Public
171 Meetings they were kept in good order & every thing conducted with greater regularity than at that Island, which undoubtedly is
782 owing to the great Command the Chiefs have over them. On solemn Occasions they offer up human Sacrifices at these Islands, which are selected from the common People by the Chiefs who kill them with their own Hands.

122 JULY 3rd. Having procured wood & Water and a Plentiful Supply of Provisions we are making preparations for leaving the Island; this Morning we sailed out of the Harbour and at eleven o'Clock we anchored without the reef that makes the north part of the Harbour.
648 Capt^n Cook made many Presents to the Chiefs among which were to Powlohow, a Horse and a Mare to Phenow, Sheep to Malawaggee.

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[1] Though in the preceding examples of the language a number of Samwell's individual words can be disentangled, it is extremely difficult to get sense out of his connected phrases, and no attempt at their translation is here made. One exception will be enough to illustrate the difficulty: his 'Aina fogee aina fogee &c' (words repeated in 'their common Dances') may very likely stand for *ai nofo ki, ai nofo ki*, 'Keep it up this way, keep it up this way'—a natural encouragement to movement. Some Tongan scholar should certainly apply his ingenuity to the problems involved.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captn came on shore; one of the three was an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an Offender, the Captn would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of [304]
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captn last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was 644
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 604
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 565
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the [609]
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [576]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [264]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect & deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them & give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was, we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175 177 644 604 565

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
[765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw
several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as
uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick
in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The
142 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
175 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
562 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh
features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be
sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard &
tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
175 custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
-152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the
human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud
perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given
to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it
would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by
observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it
arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so
extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
[565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however
in a great measure free from this crime.

175 *Canoe's.* There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both
ends, & widens from the after end to about ⅓ of its length when it begins
gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is
deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe
consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the
pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd
together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the
outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

ties, can be subdivided: status among kinsmen (*ḳāinga* ranking) incorporates 554
principles of age, sex, and whether the individual is related through 612
the mother or the father; however, in *ḳāinga* inheritance, the significant
dimension is male primogeniture within the patrilineal group. Societal 554
ranking includes two kinds of rank: chiefs are differentiated from commoners, 565
and entire societal groupings (*ha'a*) are ranked in regard to each
other. *Ha'a* cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one 613
might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, *ha'a* are
societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually 554
separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction 612
between them). One individual may rank higher than another in 613
societal rank and lower in *ḳāinga* rank; or two individuals may be related in two different ways, and they may alternately outrank each other, depending on which relationship is being activated. Conflict is usually avoided in such cases because the activity taking place generally prescribes which kind of ranking shall receive priority. A social occasion within the kin group activates different principles than does a village affair, or one that involves the whole society.

The first major strand to be dealt with will be *ḳāinga*, on which social 128
status and inheritance among kinsmen depends. Second, class ranking will
be dealt with, that is, the ranking of the roles of chiefs and commoners.
Finally *ha'a* rank, that is, the ranking of groups associated with a title that
originated by collateral segmentation, will be described. Throughout, the 128
concepts of *'eiḳi* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (common) are used; that is, within
each strand some individuals or groups are considered to be higher than 554
others. Though the strands are separated for easier explication, the relationships between them are implicit. These relationships are sometimes contradictory, but because of this are useful in reinforcing chiefly position, especially at the highest societal levels.

KĀINGA RANKING

All relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship are called 612
ḳāinga (kinsmen). One has many *ḳāinga*, a number of whom may act
as a group on various occasions, and perhaps it is best to consider *ḳāinga*
as consanguineal relationship. *Kāinga* is not the same as a Samoan *ainga*. [171]
The Tongan language has no indigenous word for family, the word 593
fāmili having been adopted from English to refer either to the nuclear
family or to the bilocal extended family, but it seems that no such word 192
was used during pre-European times.[8] 596

Kinship Categories Used for Reference Among Kāinga 601

Kui: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

Mehiḳitanga: all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father, e.g., FaSi, FaFa, SiDa.

Tamai: father and all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father.

535 ULA

[171] Ula is an ancient women's standing dance. Ula is probably the same word as hula in Hawaiian and we can postulate that ula and its sitting variant, fa'ahiula, were early Polynesian dance forms. Ula uses the same haka that is used in the fa'ahiula. The Tongans consider the two genres closely related, and I was told that the reason one could borrow movements from the other was that they are tokoua'aki, 'related like siblings of the same sex,' which implies reciprocal borrowing.

Ula is performed by 2, 4, 6, or 8 women (or occasionally today [562] as a solo), one half entering the dance space from each side. It [561] should be performed by young women, but today not many young women are skilled in the ula, so middle age women perform it. Informants say that traditionally the fa'ahiula was performed by the older women and then a number of young women performed in front of the seated kau fa'ahiula, 'dancers of fa'ahiula,' who then became the singers, kau hiva, for the ula.

535 The small melodic intervals of the ula are quite similar to the 533 fa'ahiula. The pulse organization of the ula usually has 6 pulses 535 rather than 4 or 8 as in the fa'ahiula. In contrast to fa'ahiula, 562 the ula does not interpret the words, instead ula is more important for beauty of movement and displaying the beauty and dignity of women [561] and their movements. One reason young women should do this dance is that it is they who are beautiful.

535 [192] by one or more female dancers and one or more male dancers known by the Samoan name, *tulafale*. *Tulafale* in Tongan has no other meaning than that of a male dancer of *tau'olunga*.

535 171 Samoan *tau'olunga* use much more leg movement than indigenous Tongan dances. Samoan movements include quick short running steps that bend the knee after lifting the foot from the ground, and a leg rotation to keep time. 535 [177] Tongan kinemes L_9 (the quick bending of the knee) and L_8 (leg rotation) are probably borrowings from Samoan movements that diffused with this dance. L_8 and L_9 are used in Tongan *tau'olunga*, but in no other Tongan dance genres.

In Samoan, *tau'olunga* designates the last dance on a program. In Tongan, *tau'olunga* is the name of a dance genre based on Samoan dance concepts that are broader than just *tau'olunga*. The word *tau'olunga* in Tongan has a meaning of its own. *Tau'olunga* contrasts as an antonym with *taulalo*. *Tau'olunga* connotes something high in space, while *taulalo* connotes something low in space. *Taulalo* was used in this paper to describe the position of the legs during the t^2 t^3 t^4 phrases of the *ula* genre which uses morphokine M.II.a.7. In contrast to *taulalo*, *tau'olunga* can be used to describe the usual position of the legs in the *tau'olunga* dance genre--that is, the legs are not bent and the body remains high in space. Thus, though *tau'olunga* as a dance name was borrowed from Samoa, it makes sense in the Tongan language when describing the dance genre. Tongan dances

585 are usually not spoken of as individual compositions. Rather, the names of dance genres are usually used as verbs to describe kinds of dance.

Arm movements used in *tau'olunga* are basically Tongan and, for [171] the most part, are the same as used in other Tongan dance genres. It should be noted, however, that many Samoan and Tongan arm movements are quite similar. There are some arm movements, mainly from group M.I.c. that are not usually used in other Tongan genres, for example, M.I.c.23. The movements are not as diverse as those used in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The movement emphasis in *ma'ulu'ulu* is the precise performance of many movements as a team, whereas the emphasis in *tau'olunga* is on beautiful, graceful movement and on individual interpretation. All the movements used in *ula* may be used in *tau'olunga*. The group of movements most frequently used is that of the '*haka*,' M.I.a.1., paradigm. Movements that are admired because of precise simultaneous performance such as M.I.c.16. are not necessarily admired in a *tau'olunga*. Rather, graceful, soft movements based on rotation of the lower arm, R_1, and the flexible extension and flexion of the wrist, W_1 and W_2, have their most characteristic expression in the *tau'olunga*.

The arm movements of the *tulafale* are vigorous and virile. They consist almost entirely of slapping and clapping motifs and movements such as M.I.a.24. In addition the *tulafale* may bend the body forward, hit the ground with the hands or even roll on the ground.

121 is ethnoscientific in that it seeks to isolate and describe what the Tongans recognise as significant in their dance. And it is theoretical in that it presents a model for understanding Tongan dance and my theory of Tongan dance.

Analyses of this sort suggest several future possibilities. We can state precisely how one movement (or motif or genre) differs from any other. We can make a componential analysis of morphokines using kinemes as components. We can analyze whole dances of the several genres statistically and state precisely how each genre differs from others by the relative frequency of kinemes, morphokines, or motifs used. Analysing several related dance traditions, we can state in which dimensions they are the same or different.
535 For example, many of the arm movements in the dance traditions of
171 Tonga and Samoa are quite similar. I would hypothesize that one
difference is the relatively greater frequency of the rotation of
the lower arm in Tongan dance as opposed to a greater frequency of
121 the flexion and extension of the wrist in Samoan dance. Perhaps even
studies similar to linguistic glottochronology can be made using the
basic inventories of dance movements in related cultures. This, in
turn, can be used as independent evidence in studies of culture
history, which is presently based mainly on archaeology, linguistics,
and botany. Most important, however, it makes it possible to say
something precise about dance with terms and concepts that are meaningful to anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and others who are

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

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2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.

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3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973: 114.

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4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).

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5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND I OKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).

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6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal party on *H.M.V. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.

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7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970: 134; and Sahlins 1958: 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
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INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian
island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monarchial
643 form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat bloodthirsty
unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou,
later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his
current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western
European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications
in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the
nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by
larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discussions
pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that
there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects
concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank
was something which came about because one was born into the position.
Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leadership
or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In
aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had
the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
642 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:

> 829 Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times*
> 643 explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big
> family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

66: Walsh K-5 (1963-1964) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nuku'alofa

a tongan
urban peasantry
conjecture or reality?

A.C.Walsh

369 171 Of the capital towns of the South Pacific, Nuku'alofa is probably the least urban and its way of life the least different from that of the rural villages. It differs from other Pacific island capitals in several basic characteristics. Unlike other Pacific port towns it is largely the product of Tongan enterprise and cannot for this reason be considered in the same light as Belshaw's "artificial colonial-parasitic" town.[1] Nuku'alofa is overwhelmingly Tongan in population and outlook and Tongans predominate in all branches of the economy.[2] It is the modern capital of a society that in pre-European times was the most highly stratified in western Polynesia and much evidence remains of this today.[3] It has little feeling of corporate unity, there is no ownership or sale of land and within the town there are few spatial differences or evidence of specialisation. There is very little secondary industry, private or foreign tertiary activity, and its migrant population as a whole is less attracted by job opportunities than in many other Pacific island towns. It is therefore doubtful whether Nuku'alofa, as claimed by Belshaw for other Pacific port towns, can be construed as "a vast agency for cultural change".[4] 369 Its inhabitants meet few of the challenges which an urban environment extends and most rural and Tongan attitudes are carried over into the town where they require little or no modification.

Spillius, writing of Nuku'alofa from the viewpoint of public health, wrote that "the distinction between rural and urban is an artificial one in Tonga ... a better definition of the larger towns of the kingdom is large overcrowded villages."[5] Yet, by virtue of its

[p.87]

size and its social and economic functions, Nuku'alofa cannot be 369
regarded merely as an overgrown village. The South Pacific Commission, recognising the difficulties in defining the term "urban" in the 369
South Pacific area, proposed three characteristics typical of Pacific
urban settlements. A heavier concentration of population, an occupa- 171
tional structure involving a larger proportion in non-agricultural
pursuits, and a form of government suited to the needs of the town.[6]
Nuku'alofa meets the first two characteristics and, by being the 369
centre of all Tongan administration, must be considered as different
from other settlements in Tonga even though it possesses no government 633
peculiar to itself.[7] As the capital of the kingdom it has several
functions different from other towns in Tonga. It is the centre of 369
administration, trade, commerce, church activities, education and
other social services, the main port and the meeting ground for old
and new, Tongan and foreign. Rural migrants form a large part of its [166]
population, its growth rate is much greater than almost all other [162]
settlements, it is considerably larger than any other town, and its [161]
inability to meet the problem of rapid inward migration is beginning
to show in ways similar to urban areas outside Tonga where the same
processes are at work. This is dramatically portrayed in a recent 369
communique:

> "The prison is full and the court overworked. On the 16th of 579
> March more than a hundred young people were involved in violent fighting in the streets of Nuku'alofa. Several boys received cane knife wounds and over thirty are being charged in a special court today."[8]

Thus, while conditions and attitudes appear rural, Nuku'alofa 369
must be classed, by Pacific standards, as an urban settlement. 171

urban characteristics

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The emergence of Nuku'alofa as the future capital of Tonga can
be traced from an early association with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of [643]
high chiefs.* Later, during the period of civil wars (1799-1845),
the previously dispersed Tongan settlements became nucleated villages
for reasons of defence.[9] Subsequently the settlement became the main [795]
centre of Wesleyan Christianity and was chosen by the victorious
Taufa'ahau (now King George I) as his permanent place of residence. [643]
It was from this time that the new village of Kolofo'ou (new town)
emerged as the settlement of the king's followers, as distinct from
the adjacent older settlement of Nuku'alofa which now assumed the name
Kolomotu'a or old town. Ma'ufanga, the third distinct area of

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* See glossary for all Tongan words used in text.

464 sale, and run a single-room grocery shop in his village...."[11]
Classification is obviously even more difficult in Nuku'alofa where
the opportunities for additional part-time or casual employment are
464 considerably greater. Thus in Nuku'alofa in 1956 a large number of
males were "employed" in agriculture (45 per cent) and secondary
162 industry was relatively unimportant, absorbing only 7 per cent of the
male work force (see Table II). Of the total work force 81 per cent
were employed in tertiary work and a relatively large proportion of
women were included in the total labour force (35 per cent). Further
characteristics of the employment structure in Nuku'alofa were the
dominant role of government and quasi-government produce boards in
providing employment and initiating industrial development (at least
one-quarter of the labour force so dependent),[12] the absence of a sig-
nificant foreign private sector, the predominance of Tongans in all
levels of employment, and the wide range of small-scale Tongan enter-
prises. In addition, much of this labour force, especially those
classifying themselves agriculturalists, would be better considered
underemployed and in many cases unemployed.

Table II

Male Employment in Nuku'alofa, 1956*

Employment	Percentage of those in Nuku'alofa	Percentage of those so employed in Tonga
Agriculture	45.7	10.2
Commodity Boards	5.5	57.6
Commerce (shops)	5.2	22.0
Transport & Communications	9.5	64.7
Services	19.9	26.0
Part-Manufacturing and Processing	6.8	33.4

Source: Sorting Cards, 1956 Census

* The male working age group was defined as 20-59 years. Over fifteen per cent of females in these age groups were in paid employment, representing 35 per cent of the total labour force.

464 The high proportion employed in agriculture demonstrates the
close links between Nuku'alofa and its rural hinterland. In this
369 respect it probably has more in common with the classical nucleated
[171] village than with most port towns in other parts of the Pacific. Its
occupational structure, however, differs greatly from rural villages
in Tonga where almost all the males are at least primarily employed in
agriculture.[13]

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166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in
464 obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more
difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[186] should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of
[171] mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which
supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant
expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties
with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place.
It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in
Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see
431 Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no
574 close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose
obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters
living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with
the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest
cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably
more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not
surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for *'api tukuhau*, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of
these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this
again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within
the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval
floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans
are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment.
[593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the
[343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating,
cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in
[171] keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their *'api kolo*, clear evidence of their active
involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less
[264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are
more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three
meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in
the making of tapa in the *kautaha koko'anga*, in making other Tongan
handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the *fale hiva* or choir
house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close
resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and
therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in
[433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy
itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities.
The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from
single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the
European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the
hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of
primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
and one group, the *fakafefine*, have some form of loose cooperation
441 which cuts across kin affiliations. The *fakafefine* (the word means
"like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round
of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles
they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional 369
values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; 184
the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see
Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, 674
prostitution, the *fakafefine* and prisoners are much the same among the [369]
upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. [184]
Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who
avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an unmarried mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk
to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the
community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken [784]
when one breaks social *tapu* concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in
the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, 571
to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and
satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and 182
economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money [178]
conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of
tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are
few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in
attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional
societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, 121
there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have 369
described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro
town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not
help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town
are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or
bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly
peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural
phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar
and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural
socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In
the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a
society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear [565]
in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet
exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are 178
"all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a
result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their 171
indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one 121
on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result.
The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not 121
predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off.
At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural 369
element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

121 369 economy remains labour intensive, the imbalance of the economy ensures a continued flow of peasant immigrants and kinship ties continue to provide security for the poor and status for the well-off. The "ruralisation" of Nuku'alofa is likely to continue because rural and traditional attitudes and forms of activity are a real and very necessary means of tackling urban problems.

000 It seems likely that only drastic internal changes can lead to a breakdown of the existing socio-economic relations based on kin. Peasant societies generally have shown a tremendous resilience and capacity for survival and there is no reason to suppose that urban peasant societies are more brittle. It is as well to recall, also, that Tongans long ago demonstrated their capacity to change forms without undermining substances.

369 [177] [178] [171] Nuku'alofa in these respects is neither totally unique nor solely transitional; it is a variant resulting from its own historical experience of the impact of western technology and economic organisation upon a traditional socio-economic system. It represents but one shade within the vast spectrum of urbanism in underdeveloped countries.

13. Employment figures alone are an insufficient criterion for determining "urban" and "rural" in the Pacific. This is demonstrated by comparing selected employments from "urban" Nuku'alofa with similar employments from "rural" Arorangi described by Bassett in the present volume. 464 369 171

	Nuku'alofa 1956 (males 20-59)	Arorangi 1961 (males over 15 years)
Agriculture, Planting and Fishing	46.3	52
Industrial	6.3	6
Trade & Communications	5.2	5
Commerce & Finance	5.6	6
Public Administration & Professions	9.7	8

14. Spillius, 1959(B). 113

15. Gifford, E.W., 1929, "Tongan Society", Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Bulletin, 61: 171, refers to a description of Tonga as "a fully feudal society (in which the) head of the clan has become a landlord".

16. For an historical account see Rutherford, N., 1966, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.

17. For an elaboration of the effects of this parallelism or "dual framework of society", see Walsh, A.C., 1968, "Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga", Proc. 5th N.Z. Geog. Conference, 119-124. Note, however, that this paper uses the term "peasant" more loosely than the present paper.

18. Franklin, S.H., 1965, "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation", Pac. View., 6: 145-166.

19. Maude, 1965, p.50, writes "the traditional groupings or extended family in which married sons stayed in the households of their fathers is no longer the usual form". The modern nuclear family, however, still retains intimate contact with at least 50 relations according to Spillius, 1959(B), and urban families probably have more contacts than those in the villages. Nayacakalau, R.R., 1963, "The Urban Fijian in Suva". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 135, and Bellam, 1964, 142, noted similar findings in urban Suva and Honiara. 592 593 595 [369] [113] [171]

20. Franklin, 1965, 157, in defining the peasantry asks "What is their labour commitment, their institutional basis, their control and direction and their form of ownership...?" 000

128 pressure. As the term is used here, 'population pressure' implies the
[121] existence of stress in the man/land system resulting from increases in
population density, stress being indicated by a deterioration in some of the variables in the system, such as a decline in the nutrient status of the soil or an increase in land disputes (Farmer, 1954; Lea, 1964, 1965; Street, 1969; Vermeer 1970). The following sections therefore examine three aspects of the man/land system—land tenure, the agricultural system, and the human perception of and reponse to population pressure—to see if there are any indications of stress. Analysis of the effect of population density is mostly through a comparison of areas of different density, chosen so that other independent variables are reasonably constant. For example, study of the effect of population density on the food cropping system is confined to Tongatapu and Ha'apai, for within these two groups climatic and soil conditions are broadly similar, but are different to those in Vava'u.

LAND TENURE

423 The land-tenure system of Tonga is highly distinctive, differing in a
171 number of respects from the systems found in other parts of the
Pacific Islands. Every taxpayer (every male aged 16 years and over)
423 is entitled by law to an allotment of 3·2ha of agricultural land,
known as a tax allotment, as well as a small piece of land in a village
423 or town for his house. These allotments are granted to individuals
as a lifetime, inheritable leasehold from the Government, if on a
427 Government estate, or from the title-holder on a chiefly estate, and
no one may legally hold more than one allotment of each type.

423 In reality, however, many Tongan men do not have the allotment
to which they are entitled. In the 1966 Census only 8,305 or 41·6
423 per cent of all Tongan males aged 16 and over stated that they had
162 a tax allotment. Although this figure conflicts with the 1966 Report
127 of the Lands and Survey Department, which recorded the total
number of tax allotment holders in December 1966 as 12,517
(G. Rogers, 1969, 216), this latter figure is almost certainly incorrect.
423 A more detailed impression of landholding is given in Table 7.2,
which presents the results of a number of village studies. The table
128 shows that in only one village, Niutoua, did over half the taxpayers
have their legal entitlement, while in most villages a large proportion
592 of taxpayers and households had no land at all. It should be noted

to the presence of mild population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. 121
These problems, however, are as much a result of the failure to 182
adapt the man/land system to cope with rising population densities as of population growth alone. Improvements are possible in land tenure, for instance to ensure that land is only allocated to those who can make good use of it, and in agriculture, through the adoption of new techniques in both food and cash cropping; while changes in the market for cash crops and in the availability and location of non-agricultural employment would also produce changes in the degree of population pressure in Tonga.

To what extent can the material discussed in this case study of 121
Tonga be used in an assessment of the ideas of Boserup and Geertz, both of whom have been concerned with the effect of population growth on traditional agricultural systems? Boserup (1965) argues that the intensification of agriculture, because it involves more labour-intensive techniques and a decrease in mean output per man-hour, only occurs when forced by population pressure. Geertz (1963), on the other hand, in his study of Indonesian economic history, draws a distinction between *sawah* agriculture, a stable system in which increases in population can be easily absorbed by intensification without harm to the environment, and shifting cultivation, a potentially unstable system highly susceptible to ecological breakdown if intensified in response to population growth. For Boserup agricultural systems of varying intensity from forest-fallow cultivation to multi-cropping lie along the one continuum, while for Geertz shifting cultivation and *sawah* agriculture are unrelated systems with different responses to population pressure.

Taking Geertz's contribution first, it is evident that while there 121
are some signs of mild pressure in Tongan agriculture there is no 241
indication of an impending ecological crisis, despite the doubling in 182
the intensity of cropping over the last 30 to 40 years, and the Tongan 171
system appears much better able to withstand population growth and intensification than the shifting cultivation model described by Geertz. For this there are several possible explanations. Firstly, there are some differences between the Tongan system and the south-east Asian examples on which Geertz's model is based. In south-east Asia the staple crop is rice, whereas the Tongan system is based on tubers, which may help to maintain soil fertility during cropping by providing a better cover for the soil surface, even though the patterns of inter-cropping and crop succession in Tonga are very simple. In

121 In addition, the agricultural environment in Tonga is much more
241 favourable for intensive cropping than are the environments in which
182 shifting cultivation is carried on in south-east Asia, for the soils,
171 derived from recent volcanic materials and not subject to heavy
[134] leaching, are of high inherent fertility. Although no yield measurements have been made, the decline in yields between the first and second cropping of a plot is certainly nowhere near the 80 per cent
121 drop reported by Geertz (1963, 23) from south Sumatra. Geertz's characterization of shifting cultivation applies to only one type amongst many, and to only one environment amongst the many in which this agricultural system is carried on.

[114] Following from this, I feel that Geertz, perhaps because he has confined his examples to south-east Asia, overestimates the fragility of shifting cultivation and the narrowness of the demographic limits within which it is a stable system. Nye and Greenland (1960, 129), for example, demonstrate that it is possible to crop at varying levels of intensity, and consequently of soil fertility, without catastrophic consequences to the soil. Up to a limit, which varies with the type of shifting cultivation and the environment, decreases in yield as a result of an increase in the intensity of cropping may be more than offset by increases in overall production because of the longer period
121 of cropping. This limit has certainly not been reached in Tonga,
241 where the agricultural system has a greater degree of flexibility in response to population growth than Geertz admits for shifting culti-
182 vation systems.

On *prima facie* evidence, Ester Boserup's thesis more closely fits the Tongan situation, and her contention that differences in agricultural intensity are the consequence of differences in population density is supported by the material discussed earlier. However, the intensification of Tongan agriculture in response to population growth has not stimulated any basic improvements in the bush fallow technique of maintaining soil fertility except amongst strongly-commercialized farmers. It is important to an assessment of Boserup's thesis that this lack of change be explained; and two types of explanation are possible.

The first involves a consideration of the conditions under which population growth may fail to stimulate technological advance. Boserup does not claim that intensification will always lead to the adoption of new methods, and suggests several situations where failure is possible, some of which could apply to Tonga at present.

121 Firstly, under conditions of rapid population growth the rate at
182 which the intensity of cropping increases may well be higher than
241 the rate at which farmers are able to change their traditional methods and their accustomed habits of work. The examples drawn
[171] on by Boserup to support her thesis are of populations undergoing slower rates of growth than have been recently experienced in Tonga, or in many of the developing countries, and this somewhat reduces the value of her thesis under contemporary conditions. However, observation and questioning in Tonga do not suggest the rate of population growth to be a major reason for the failure to adopt new methods of soil fertility maintenance. Secondly, failure is possible where farmers have no knowledge of the techniques which could be
121 adopted. In Tonga the only new technique known to farmers is the
182 use of chemical fertilizers, which because of their cost have so far
241 been used only with cash crops, whereas many African and Asian shifting cultivators have had a knowledge of other methods or
171 contact with peoples practising more advanced systems of traditional agriculture.*

121 A third possible situation in which population pressure may fail
182 to produce corresponding technological advances in agriculture is
241 where institutional problems reduce the farmer's incentive, or ability,
[171] to undertake improvements. Boserup, for example, in a discussion of investment under landlord tenure, argues that the disorganization of the feudal land-tenure system of India during the colonial period, by slowing down investment in land improvement, especially irrigation facilities, helped to prevent agricultural output from responding
121 to population growth. In Tonga the customs relating to land could
182 produce a similar result. While land is individually held and the security of tenure good, land borrowing, sanctioned by custom, is
241 widespread and requests for land are not necessarily made only to
423 those who have it to spare. Consequently farmers do not have full control over the use of their land, and although field work indicates that this is not yet a reason for the failure to adopt new methods, farmers may in the future be reluctant to make an investment in improved techniques if the benefit of their investment may be gained by someone else.†

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* In both these cases the failure to adopt new techniques could lead to the ecological collapse described by Geertz, particularly in drier environments where regeneration of the fallow vegetation is more difficult.

† See also the comments of Waddell (this volume) on the relation of investment in improvements to tenacity of land tenure.

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 304 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
[171] circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 201 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
124 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[431]
[201]

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A] admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175 311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609] [123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 417 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175 123 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
175 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
351 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
137 [417] and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609 [181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 [181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

175 [432 cont.]
142 the beard shaven or rather clipt by means of a couple of sharp muscle
302 237 shells, (mytili.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter
175 than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee
141 and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely [433] proportioned down
175 to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate
142 as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large
feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features,
though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general
observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals
there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these
could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same,
a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect
175 health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately
565 distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this
[142] island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us
[171] to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not
even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his
175 orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the
304 skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly
[171] and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded
than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were
not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides
being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities,
and justly excited our astonishment.

_______ et picta pandit spectacula cauda! HOR.

[434]

175 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring
304 themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But
besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of
concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have
175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only
291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress
● [171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth
[531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards
painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted
floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long
while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about
their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in
[171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth
they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling
those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered
175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore
301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung
237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting
of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of
fishes, and in the middle of all the round operculum or cover of
[304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated,
and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of
175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes
301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance,
531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments.
175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was,
304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both
291

[435 cont.]

175 hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this
304 amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about
[291] naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few
grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an ex-
175 ception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death
304 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations,
171 in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);
the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries,
though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture.
175 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these
304 people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been
burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered
with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence.
[171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we sup-
posed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese moxa, as a remedy
against various complaints.

175 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw
122 that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our
439 captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity;
which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as
to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles,
175 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They
439 had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for
[227] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased
[237] an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with
[171]

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10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p.224, 229.

[436 cont.]

175 439 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-
237 hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches
175 long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast,
439 their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks
301 [237] for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be
[824] imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches
[531] long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected
together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some
of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.
175 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety
285 of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown
531 and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of
round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into
that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were
elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and
175 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head,
171 were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in
515 415 which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up
824 the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and
made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this
name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with
175 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite
411 variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce
manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular,
so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering
into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

227 171 11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

[438 cont.]
175
181 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole
609 behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their
439 readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have some-
175
124 times quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring
islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their
conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on
175 this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with
439 all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship
171 and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other
trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great
eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But
in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the
Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent,
but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque
175 beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till
439 dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the
[648] ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a
grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as
it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations
followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded
in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased
175 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous
164 complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440]
high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back
and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was
perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges.
A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[442 cont.]

175 764 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
[487] upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[417] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[137] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (*tòa*),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 171 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 609 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
175 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
175 123 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
[609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed
unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[449 cont.]

175
136
[137] but which proved to be bats when we came nearer. They clung to the twigs, by the hooked claws, which are at the extremity of their webbed fingers and toes; sometimes they hung with the head downwards, and sometimes the reverse. We shot [450] at them, and brought down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which held fast on the tree. They were of the kind which is commonly called the vampyre (12), and measured from three to four feet between the expanded wings. A great number of them were disturbed at our firing, and flew from the tree very heavily, uttering a shrill piping note; some likewise arrived from remote parts at intervals to the tree, but the greatest number remained in their position, and probably go out to feed only by night. As they live chiefly upon fruit, it is likely that they commit great depredations in the orchards of the natives, some of whom being present when we fired, seemed very well
175 pleased with the death of their enemies. We had seen some of
224 them who had caught these bats alive, and placed them in a cage of wickerwork very ingeniously contrived, with an entrance like that of a fish-basket, where the animal could easily be put in, but could
175 not come out again. They likewise assured us the bats were very
825 mordacious, for which purpose they seemed indeed to be well provided
136 with large sharp teeth.

175 We had already observed at Taheitee, at the Society Islands,
764 and even at Ea-oowhe, that wherever we met with a casuarina, a
137 burying-place was at hand. Therefore, at sight of this venerable
0711 tree, which was hung with ill-omened creatures, we immediately conjectured that it would [451] lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and

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12. La Rougette, of M. de Buffon. Vampyrus of Linné, and Pennant.

[451 cont.]

175 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful
764 green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst
137 which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their
various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest
oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing
175 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet
764 high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was
covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps,
likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which
a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe.
Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of
the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground,
and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with
only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found
the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one
corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was
[304] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a
[763] man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger
had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his
[538] _maduas_ or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two
[171] pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the
human figure, like those which are called _e-tee_ at Taheitee, but they
were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of
respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about.
These burying-places, which are called _a-Fayetooca_ in the language
of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

[778] 13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two *fayetòocas*, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building,
but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to
him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short
pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From
this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration
for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee
and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious
tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too
imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs
from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries,
especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity
of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[455 cont.]
We likewise
175 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
534
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some
fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied
much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a
notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was
only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips.
It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the
syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part,
which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very
far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by
snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
531 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[534]
[171] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[415] other utensils.

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[457 cont.]

175 609 and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked,
171 without professing greater chastity than the common women at
831 Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of
175 609 their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy
836 of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few
beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of
the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense
175 of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general,
836 and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was
[837] guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction
of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have
observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest
class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in
the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they
suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces
000 of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such
an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better
wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we
endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their
opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely
various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India,
no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe
she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs,
Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic
of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

175 609 None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set,
but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

[460 cont.]

175 construction. The common small trading-canoes were sharp-bottomed, and
501 ended in a sharp edge at each extremity, which was covered with a board
or deck, because their narrow form frequently exposed these parts to
an entire submersion, which would have filled them with water without
this precaution. They commonly had a slight out-rigger or balancer,
[283] made of a few poles, to pre- [461] vent their oversetting. The body of the
canoe consisted of several planks, of a hard brown wood, sewed together
with strings made of the fibrous coco-nut core, and so artfully joined
[171] that they appeared to be remarkably tight. The Taheitians simply bore
holes in each plank, through which they pass their strings; but by this
means their canoes are always leaky. At Tongo-Tabboo they dub the inside of the plank in such a manner as to leave a projecting list or rim
close to the edge, and through this they pass their threads. Along
the deck or narrow board at each extremity are placed seven or eight
knobs, which seem to be an imitation of the little fins, (*pinnulae
spuriae*)on the belly of bonitos, albecores, or mackarels; and I
cannot but conjecture that the natives have taken these swift fishes
[412] for their models in the construction of their boats. Though these
[237] canoes are commonly fifteen or eighteen feet long, yet they are as neatly
and smoothly polished as our best cabinetwork, which must appear the
more surprising when we consider that the tools of the natives are
[171] only wretched bits of coral, and rasps made of the skins of rays. Their
paddles were equally well polished, of the same wood as the canoe, and
had short rhomboidal broad blades, like those of Taheitee. The other
sort of canoes were constructed for sailing, and persons skilled in
nautical matters acknowledge that they were admirably well adapted for
[171] this purpose. We saw one of them in Maria Bay, consisting of two joined

[462]

175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
[171] of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails,
which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a

501
114 17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.
175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the
Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were
[231] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this
powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which
had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463]
in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder,
and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of
175 turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:
171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252
354 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
175 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
609 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
171 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
252 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

A [6 October--Analyst.]

[464 cont.]

175
648
[170]

as they had tempted the Taheitians, and they were consequently equally disposed to pilfer. The captains had not been long on shore the next day, when one of the natives took an opportunity of stealing a jacket out of our boat. In a few moments no less than seven shots were fired, without the captain's orders, though in his presence, at the thief, who first dived in the water, and at last ran into the croud, by which means several innocent people were wounded. Notwithstanding this severity, the good-nature of the people was such, that they did not forsake the trading-place or take umbrage at our proceeding, but heard with unconcern the balls whistling about their ears. A few hours afterwards, one of them was equally nimble on board our ship, and luckily slipping into the master's cabin stole from thence several mathematical books, [465] a sword, a ruler, and a number of trifles of which he could never make the least use. He was seen making his escape in a canoe, and a boat being dispatched after him, he threw all the stolen effects overboard. These were picked up by another of our boats, whilst the first continued in the pursuit of the thief. Our men fired a musket into the stern of his canoe, upon which he and some others with him jumped into the sea. The thief was still hunted with incredible eagerness, but displayed a most wonderful agility, diving several times under the boat, and once unshipping the rudder. At last one of our people darted the boat-hook at him, and catching him under the ribs, dragged him into the boat; but he watched his opportunity, and notwithstanding his loss of blood, leaped into the sea again, and escaped to some canoes, which came from the shore to his assistance. It is remarkable that even such a disposition for cruelty, as had been displayed in the pursuit of this poor wretch, did not deprive

175 [465 cont.]
648 us of the confidence and affection of his country-men. The captains
[565] brought Attagha and another chief on board with them to dinner, and
175 the trade was carried on as quietly as if nothing had happened. The
565 chief who came with Attagha appeared to be of a superior rank, because
[576] the latter, who used to sit at table with us on former occasions,
now retreated a few steps, sat down on the floor, and could not be
prevailed upon to eat in his sight. He was a blear-eyed, elderly man,
and having a great influence [466] on the people in the canoes, was
175 called the admiral by our sea-men. His dress did not in the least
565 indicate his superior dignity, probably because these islanders are
576 little acquainted with the refinements of luxury, though on the
[171] other hand they seem to behave with great submission to their men
of rank, directly contrary to what we had observed at the Society
Isles. The respect which Attagha paid to the other chief, was however
trifling in comparison of that which we heard of on shore after
dinner. Here we found a well-looking middle-aged man, sitting on
the ground at the trading-place, and all the croud forming a circle
about him. Some of our sportsmen acquainted us, that they had met
with him near Maria Bay, where the other natives passing by had
prostrated themselves on the ground before him, kissed his feet,
175 and put them on their necks. Upon enquiry, they had been repeatedly
565 told, that he was the chief of the whole island, in the same manner
as Cookee (captain Cook) was chief of our ships, and that they called
him Ko-Haghee-too-Fallango (18). Whether this was his name or his
title I cannot determine, as we never heard it mentioned again by the

[197] 18. Ko is the article in these Islands and at New Zeeland, which answers to the Taheitian O or E.

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)
175 Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
●171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great
correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return
any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water (21), which was
415

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

[469 cont.]

000 of a single man may in time kindle a dreadful and irresistible fire!
175 565 The obedience and submission with which these people revere their chiefs, are evident proofs that their government, though perhaps not perfectly despotic, is yet far from being democratical; and this kind of political constitution seems likely to facilitate the introduction of luxury. ● [171] This seems to hold good likewise in regard to many islands in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, since the faithful descriptions of Schouten, Le Maire, and Tasman, who visited them, correspond in every material particular with our own observations.
175 609 101 The general disposition for trading, and the kind and friendly reception which strangers have almost constantly met with in every island belonging to this group, prevailed upon us to give these discoveries of Schouten and Tasman the name of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS.
000 Schouten's boats were indeed attacked at Cocos, Traitors, Hope, and Horne Islands; but these attacks were inconsiderable, though severely punished on the part of the Dutch navigator, who, after the first disturbance at Horne Island, lay there nine days in perfect good understanding with the natives.
175 648 609 Tasman, who twenty-seven years afterwards saw several islands near six degrees to the southward of those which Schouten had visited, was received with every demonstration of peace and friendship, [470] though he was the first European that discovered them. Whether this behaviour was only a consequence of the intelligence which the natives of Tonga-Tabboo and Anamocka, (Ansterdam[a] and Rotterdam Islands,) might have received from these of Cocos, Hope, and Horne Islands, concerning the superior strength of the strangers and the havock which they had made; or whether it was the natural effect of their peaceable disposition, I cannot

[a] [sic!--Analyst]

175 [*470 cont.*]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
000 he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives
no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single
musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles
belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general
character. He called his discovery the *Archipel des Navigateurs*,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not
materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased
one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with
rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden
handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small
earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and
suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards
we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives them-
175 selves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
[648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
[304] [565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

[471 cont.]

175 171 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island
304 were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The
565 000 experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself
before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his
175 181 foot (23). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon
meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them
175 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly
181 accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of
609 intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.
Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions
to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of
175 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach
123 where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered
the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.
[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three
natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far
as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after,
Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,
175 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives,
123 finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-
648 piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion,
and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices
in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush,
and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain
his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

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23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

175 [473 cont.]

535 of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers, 124 [292] or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of [439] fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that [171] their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which 175 I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten 171 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their [535] account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon

24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Taheitians, and that it would not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes, who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still [311] covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this [137] article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we [342] have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in [501] the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable, and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and 175 much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract 171 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475] 312 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

[475 cont.]

175
171 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently
312 in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very
different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing,
and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rainwater
175 in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are
515 obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a
certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.
175 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards,
302 which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they
171
would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,
175
312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The
175 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are
164 perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.
175 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which
304 we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an
individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy
000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains
and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply
175 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive
171 with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or
433 cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that
great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-Tabboo.
175 There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of
433 mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees;
134 and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly
312 on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial
000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

175 [476 cont.]

433 The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Taheitians, and
311 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
171
423 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
175 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
435 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.
They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal
175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Taheitians, this seems to be the consequence of a
175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they
175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious
181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Taheitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and
175 enlivening chearfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness
181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so
far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest
[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the chearfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

175 [477 cont.]
181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 171 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
174 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 175 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

[478 cont.]

175 for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey
122
312 Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation
175 of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts
136 of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed,
he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat
tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of
175 Linnaeus, by the name of colubri laticaudati. In our branch we
126 had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us
137 several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark,
or cinchona, [479] of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally
175 efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds
23 unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of
[126]
[439] the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very
[136] expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons,
[554] which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of
[171] distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island where the same custom
175 prevails, is of that opinion (25). In the last boat which

565 25. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection,
431 vol. II. p. 46.

609 had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king
had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog
roasted, or dressed under ground, as a present to the captain. In
the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed
[152] to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting
at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him
a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles
of less moment, all which he received with sullen gravity;
this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to
smile as he conversed with Attagha.

[166 cont.]

000 colour with which it was daubed. We tried to fire again, and at last my piece, loaded with small shot, went off, and Mr. Hodges fired a ball, which did no execution. At the same time a regular firing began behind us from our party, who having observed our retreat, had likewise viewed another troop of the natives coming down by a different path to cut us off. The effect of the small shot fortunately stopped the natives from rushing upon us, and gave us time to retreat to our men, who continued to fire with great eagerness, while any of the natives remained in sight. Two of these in particular, standing among the bushes, brandished their weapons in defiance a considerable while, but at last retired, one of them appearing to be wounded, by the animal howl which we heard presently after. We now embarked, and resolved to abandon a set of people, whom no entreaties could prevail upon to become our friends. The nature of their country, which is almost inaccessible, seems to have contributed to make their [167] tempers so unsociable. The whole island is purely a coralrock, like that of the low islands, on which we saw very few coco-palms, and no useful trees. I have therefore formed a conjecture, that the interior parts are not so barren, but fit for the culture of nutritive vegetables. The general resemblance of this island to a coral ledge raised out of the water, almost leads me to suspect that it includes a fertile plain, which was once a lagoon. Whether a convulsion of the globe, or any other cause, lifted such a large piece of coral rock forty feet above water, is a point which must be left

● [171] to future philosophers to determine. The boats and arms of the natives^

[175] resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, and it is therefore probable that the people have the same origin; but their numbers are inconsiderable,

^ [of Niue, i.e., Savage Island--Analyst]

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

122 On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
[177] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were
heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.
122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
133 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,
609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the
181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages
whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and
died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near
one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked;
but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a
short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
133 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
137 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
175

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
175 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
517 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
175 [459] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have substituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[517] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

591 592 613 consanguine of the headman.

The definition of matakali also has an historical dimension which requires an association of ancestors of the present headman with the village. There are four recognized matakali in Puke and twenty-two of the village households are recognized members of matakali. The other households are not considered to be matakali members. Persons in this latter category are not considered real citizens of the village; they have no history there and are thought to be likely to move to another village. This criterion of history is not dependent on the length of an individual's residence in the village, but rather on his relationship to a headman who does have ancestors historically associated with the locale.

613 The two largest and politically strongest matakali in Puke both have long histories of association with the village. For both cases ancestors of the current headmen can be traced back several generations. [764] Each of these matakali has its own graveyard and a third graveyard serves for all other members of the community.

[171] The corporateness of the Tongan matakali would have to be described as weak when compared to other Polynesian residence groups such as the puikaainga described for the Ellice (Brady 1970: 65-74). Corporateness of the matakali is built on (1) recognition of the group by both members and non-members, (2) periodic functioning as a unit or resource management and collection, and (3) recognition of the headman as a leader, organizer, and advisor by the group's constituents.

So the matakali can be described as a weak corporate group in

597 602 transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

593 597 [177] Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. In Tonga grand-
593 597 603 608 parents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

593 597 Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

[602] It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

597 602 An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second
[608] set of relationships. If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that

437 438 628 Group exchanges between villages are fairly common late in the year and women are always the major participants. A group of women (kautaha fefine) will form several months before the exchange and begin preparations; usually this involves the production of handicrafts or raising money to purchase the desired items. The details of the exchange are most likely arranged by a person or persons with kinsmen in the other [574] village. The exchange takes place in the context of a visitation with feasting and singing being important ingredients.

These group exchanges also seem to take on the function of providing rural isolated villages with items available through the market economy and providing groups from urban areas with more traditional forms of wealth to which they no longer have unlimited access. Couper (1968) [171] found this pattern to be strongly developed in Fiji where urban dwellers were providing their country-kin with Western items and receiving traditional, indigenously produced goods.

437 438 177 628 In Tonga I was only able to record detailed information on one such exchange. The exchange involved a village near Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, having high access to Western goods and a village in the Ha'apai group, which is one of the more isolated areas in the Kingdom. The Tongatapu [574] group made the one-day trip by boat to Ha'apai and stayed for four days. At the conclusion one of the women from Tongatapu married a Ha'apai man, but that is not a typical feature of group exchanges.

The Tongan term for 'trade' is fefakatau'aki, or 'to trade' is fai fakatau. The items being traded are termed kātoanga, kātoa meaning 'all' or 'the entirety'. The exchange usually takes place outdoors and the

127 ceremony, as I am concerned with the descriptions as representative hikitanga ceremonies in general. These corroborated descriptions can be used as the basis of statements of ethnohistorical facts on the hikitanga ceremony, funerary activities, and Tongan religion.

The ethnohistorical researcher attempts to acquire as many descriptions from different eyewitnesses observing the same behavior, preferably observed and recorded on the same date, in order to make as many external consistency checks as possible. The greater the consistency of comparative descriptions, the more valid are the ethnohistorian's inferences and thereby the statements of ethnohistorical fact.

Data on an Ethnographic Reconstruction: 'Inasi Ceremony

The ethnohistorical researcher must have background ethnographic knowledge about the society being studied before reading, extracting,
127 and testing the descriptions from manuscript accounts. From previous
651 readings I not only knew that the '*inasi* was an important ceremony in
171 aboriginal Tongan society (Gifford 1929: 345), but also that the cere-
796 mony had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (*Vide* Goldman 1970:
127 134ff.; Sahlins 1957: 24-25; and Williamson 1924). I tested the
121 statements made by the Wesleyan missionaries against known and accepted
ethnographic evidence concerning first fruit ceremonies in Tonga in
particular and Polynesia in general. This required reading the manu-
script, extracting specific descriptions, and comparing them with
127 651 796 accepted ethnographic evidence. The '*inasi* was an aboriginal Tongan

757 ointments prescribed were of an antibacterial
nature. Only an antifungal antibiotic
would have worked in this case. After
[278] treatment with the plant remedy (a concoction
of the leaves of *Solanum uporo, Evodia
hortensis,* and *Capsicum frutescens*), the
patient reported that she was able to sleep,
no longer kept awake by pain.

Collocott (7) believes that diagnosis proceeds
by a series of trials with different
medicines. He reports that one cure after
another is tried until one is found that
759 works, or until the patient dies. As in Fiji,
different practitioners have their own special
757 cures. For each of them the etiology of a
disease is unimportant. What matters is
[171] knowing if a certain condition is one they
can cure (23). Each practitioner is highly
specialized and may treat illnesses associated
with only one body system. Some practitioners
will treat all illnesses but are specialized
in that they treat only children or the
[755] aged. I did not encounter any practitioner
who diagnosed a complaint through communications
with the supernatural world.
753 There is one reference in the literature,
however, which indicates that there is some
belief in the psychological causation of certain
[754] diseases. Churchward's dictionary of
the Tongan language defines the word *sausau*
as a bundle of leaves buried near a tree
and believed to cause sickness to anyone
taking fruit from the tree. The word *fula*
is defined as a swelling caused by breaking
a *tapu* (a cultural restriction), especially by
eating a chief's leftover food (6).

278 Few plants are cultivated specifically for
249 their medicinal value, and many useful
species are found growing in villages. Most
278 medicinal plants are collected in "the bush"
or near the sea. There do not appear to be
314 any special harvesting techniques and the
leaves, bark, and roots are taken from any
plant of the required species.

Most medicines are prepared in the form
278 of infusions. Generally, a handful of the
required plant part is wrapped in a clean
white cloth or the stipule of *Cocos nucifera*
and squeezed five or six times in a half
[757] coconut shell of fresh water. The resulting
filtrate is taken usually once daily until the
patient responds to treatment. In all cases
where stem or root bark is used, the cork

124 Further reassurance regarding the con-
sistency of plant names came while I was
126 drying plant material later to be used as
crude drug samples. As individual trays of
desiccated leaves and bark were removed
from copra driers, Tongan workers who had
inquisitively gathered would attempt to call
out the identity of the dried contents before
the attached identifications were exposed.
[824] Most men were able to identify the plant
names correctly, relying solely on their ability
to interpret the scents and shapes of the
desiccated samples.

V. Enumeration of Tongan Medicinal Plants

126 Specimens of 59 species of plants were
collected on Tongatapu Island. The plants
128 were identified by using Yuncker (32) and
also by a study of specimens available at the
Herbarium of the Bishop Museum. Final
determinations were established by Dr. A. C.
Smith of the University of Hawaii. Voucher
specimens are on deposit at the Bishop
Museum.

Following is an enumeration of plants
utilized as medicines by the Tongan people.
128 This list includes my own observations as
well as those reported in the literature.
127 Families, genera, and species are arranged
alphabetically. Tongan vernacular names
and geographical distributions of each spe-
cies, as given by Yuncker (32), are included.

128 The medicinal applications of each species
in some other regions of the Pacific are
enumerated to show their popularity in use.

278 AMARANTHACEAE
(Amaranth Family)

137 ACHYRANTHES ASPERA L.

tamatama

This pantropical species is common throughout the archipelago.

278 In Tahiti the roots are used in treating
171 mouth sores, toothache, and syphilitic sores
(19). It is reported that the plant is em-
ployed in medicines in Niue (31). In the
Philippines the leaves and roots are valued
as diuretics and the sap for treating cataracts
(21).

278 In Tonga the leaves are used to tie
752 wounds after circumcision (32), and after

278 [752] [757] being chewed are applied to serious wounds. The sap from leaves[A] heated over a fire is valued in treating tetanus.

278
ANACARDIACEAE
(Mango Family)

137 RHUS TAITENSIS Guill.
tavahi

This tree is found throughout Tonga and ranges from the Philippines to Polynesia.

278 [171] In Tahiti the plant is used as an antidiarrheic but is considered a dangerous medicine (19).

In Tonga it is reported that the leaves are employed in medicines (32).

278 137 SPONDIAS DULCIS Parkinson
vi

This tree, occasional in Tongan villages, is a native of Malaysia. It is an aboriginal introduction to Polynesia.

278 171 In Tahiti parts of the plant are made into a fermented drink that is valued as an antidiarrheic (19). In the Philippines it is reported that the fruit is used in treating dysentery (21).

278 757 An extract of the bark is considered efficacious in treating diarrhea in Tonga.

278
ANNONACEAE
(Custard-Apple Family)

137 ANNONA MURICATA L.
apele

Originally from tropical America but now cultivated in many tropical countries, this small tree is occasional in Tongan villages.

278 [171] In the Philippines the ripe fruit is thought to have antiscorbutic properties and the unripe fruit is employed in treating dysentery (21).

[757] In Tonga the leaves, pounded and prepared in an infusion, are utilized in treating stomach problems.

278 137 CANANGA ODORATA (Lam.) Hook. f. & Thoms.
mohokoi

This species, originally from southern Asia, is cultivated throughout Tonga.

Species of *Cananga* from the Yalu region in New Guinea are said to contain alkaloids (30).

[p. 436-B]

[A] [Cf Achyranthes aspera L.-- Analyst.]

278 757 In Tonga an infusion of the bark is used for stomach problems, while a remedy composed of the leaves is given to infants suffering from diarrhea. A concoction containing the leaves is taken in cases of severe boils.

278 137

APOCYNACEAE
(Periwinkle Family)

Catharanthus roseus (L.) G. Don.
lolie, valeti

This small herb is a frequent ornamental throughout Tonga. Native to Madagascar, its distribution is now worldwide. See Wm. Stearns, Lloydia 29(3).

278 171 In the Philippines a leaf decoction is used in treating diabetes, while a decoction of the roots is considered an emmenagogue. In South Africa a proprietary medicine called "Covinca" prepared from this plant is employed as a specific for diabetes (21).

278 It is reported that the plant is valued in medicine in Tonga (32).

278 137 **Ervatamia orientalis** (R. Brown) Turrill
te'ete'emanu

This species is occasional in Tonga and is distributed from Fiji to Samoa and the Society Islands.

A species of *Ervatamia* from the Yalu and Laloki regions of New Guinea contains alkaloids (30).

278 757 In Tonga the root is grated and an infusion made for treating toothache. The mouthwash is said to be an effective agent in relieving pain. Koch (15) reports that this treatment is often replaced by chewing tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.).

278 137

ASCLEPIADACEAE
(Milkweed Family)

Hoya australis R. Br.
matolu

This vine is frequently encountered in forested areas throughout Tonga. It is distributed from Polynesia and Fiji to the New Hebrides and Australia.

278 171 *Hoya australis* is used in many countries for treating wounds (21).

278 757 In Tonga the leaves are pounded and dipped in water to make a lotion for treating rashes.

278

CASUARINACEAE
(Casuarina Family)

137 Casuarina equisetifolia L.
toa

This tall tree is found occasionally throughout the archipelago. Thought to be native to Indo-Malaysia and Polynesia, it is now widely cultivated in most tropical countries.

278 171 In Tahiti an infusion of the bark is taken for nervous disorders (19). In Niue it is reported that the fruit is used in medicine (31). In the Philippines an infusion of the branches is said to be diuretic, while a decoction of the bark, which contains 18% tannin (21), is employed as an emmenagogue.

278 757 An infusion of the bark of the *toa* tree is taken in Tonga for coughs, ulcers, stomach ache, and constipation.

278

COMBRETACEAE
(Terminalia Family)

137 Terminalia catappa L.
telie

Frequent throughout the archipelago, this species is distributed from tropical Asia to Polynesia and is naturalized in America.

A species of *Terminalia* from the Popondetta region of New Guinea contains saponins (30). 278 171 In Niue a preparation made from the bark of *T. catappa* is used in treating mouth sores in children (thrush?) (31). In the Philippines the red leaves are valued as a vermifuge, the fruit as a purgative, and the leaves, mixed with oil, are said to relieve pains of the breast. It is further reported that a preparation of the bark is utilized against gastric fevers and as an antidysenteric. The tender leaves have been cooked with oil from the fruit and employed in the treatment of leprosy (21).

278 757 In Tonga the bark and young leaves are pounded together and the juices applied to sores about the tongue and gums. An infusion of the bark is sometimes used in treating stomach ache.

[p.437-B]

278

COMPOSITAE

(Composite Family)

137 **Ageratum conyzoides L.**

te'ekosi

This herb is common throughout Tonga. Native to South America, it is now distributed pantropically.

278 171 In the Philippines the leaves are pounded and mixed with salt, the preparation being valued as a vulnerary. The leaves are also cooked in coconut oil and applied to wounds. The plant is used widely in other countries (21).

278 752 In Tonga the leaves are pounded and the juices applied to infected wounds.

Bidens pilosa L.

278 *fisi'uli*

137 This plant, found throughout Tonga, is distributed widely in tropical countries.

278 171 In the Philippines flowers of this species are mixed with balls of boiled rice and set to ferment in the manufacture of crude spirits. Usage is reported from Brazil, Mexico, Malaya, Indo-China, and Africa. The leaves are official in the Dutch and Mexican Pharmacopoeias (21).

278 757 In Tonga an infusion of the leaves is valued in treating stomach problems and in cases of food poisoning.

Wedelia biflora (L.) DC.

278 *ate*

137 This shrub is found along rocky coasts throughout Tonga. It is distributed from Malaya and southern Asia to Polynesia.

278 [171] In the Philippines a decoction of the fresh roots is considered to be diuretic and to act as an emmenagogue. Other usage is reported (21).

[752] [757] In Tonga the leaves are pounded between two stones which have been preheated in a fire and the juices applied to serious wounds. Koch (15) reports that this remedy is resorted to in cases of tetanus.

278

CONVOLVULACEAE

(Morning-Glory Family)

137 **Ipomoea congesta R. Br.**

fue'aepuaka

This vine, frequent in Tonga, is distributed from Formosa to tropical Australia and Polynesia.

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

278 757 In Tonga the leaves are crushed and squeezed through a cloth into a cup of water to prepare a drink for treating filariasis. In a similar preparation the roots are cut into small pieces and the resulting drink is taken as an apperient.

278 137

EBENACEAE

(Ebony Family)

Diospyros ferrea (Willdenow) Bakhuizen
kanume

This tree is found throughout Tonga and is distributed from India and Ceylon eastward to Hawaii.

A species of *Diospyros* from the Wau region of New Guinea is reported to contain 278 [171] steroids (30). In the Philippines the bark and leaves of *D. ebenaster* Retz. are made into a blistering plaster (21).

Yuncker (32) reports that in Tonga the bark is used in preparing medicines.

278 137

EUPHORBIACEAE

(Spurge Family)

Glochidion ramiflorum J. R. & G. Forst.
malolo

This large tree, frequent in Tonga, is found from the New Hebrides to Samoa.

A species of *Glochidion* from the Lae Wau, and Nondugl regions of New Guinea is reported to contain saponins (30).

278 757 From the leaves of this plant the Tongans make a remedy for food poisoning. The pounded leaves are frequently applied to boils and a drink prepared from young leaves has been employed in cases where infants were suffering from a "furry tongue accompanied by a sleeping fit."

278 137 **Jatropha curcas** L.
fiki

This species is frequent throughout Tonga and is distributed pantropically.

278 171 In Samoa (12) the juice of this plant is thought to be effective for treating yaws. In the Philippines the plant has many uses, the oil from the seeds is the basis of a violet purgative, a decoction of the leaves is valued as an antidiarrheic and as a cough medicine, and the bark is pounded and applied to wounds originating from animal bites. Quisumbing (21) reports usage in other coun-

[p. 438-B]

278 tries and states that the leaves are official
[171] in the Mexican and French Pharmacopocias.
A drink made from the pounded leaves is
[757] employed in Tonga as a cure for stomach
ache.

278 **Macaranga harveyana** (Muell. Arg.)
Muell. Arg.
137 *loupata*

This small tree is found in Tonga, Fiji, Niue, Samoa, and the Society Islands.

278 In Tonga a drink made from the root bark (cambium layer) is utilized in treating
757 hemorrhoids after pregnancy. A drink from the boiled bark finds a role in treating constipation. Yuncker reports (32) that the leaves are used for treating stomach ailments of infants.

278 **Ricinus communis** L.
lepohina

137 The castor bean plant is found in waste areas throughout Tonga and is distributed pantropically.

The seeds of this plant are the source of castor oil but they also contain a highly
278 poisonous substance named ricin. In Samoa it is reported that the oil is employed as a
171 laxative (12). In the Philippines fresh leaves are applied externally for headache and the leaves, cooked with milk, are used in poultices for ulcers. Wide usage is recorded by Quisumbing (21), who states also that the leaves and seeds are official in many pharmacopoeias.

278 In Tonga the juices from pounded bark are applied in cases of skin rashes. A drink
757 made from the pounded bark is taken for tumors of the breast and for boils as well.

278
GOODENIACEAE
(Naupaka Family)

137 ***Scaevola taccada** (Mill.) Krause,
probably var. *taccada*
ngahu

This shrub, common throughout Tonga, is found also from India to Australia and is widely distributed on Pacific islands.

278 In Fiji a decoction of the roots is used for stomach ache (20). In the Philippines juices
171 from the ripe fruit are applied locally to

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* Specimen lost.

278 171 cataracts, the roots are employed in combatting beriberi, syphilitic infections, and dysentery. The leaves of this plant are smoked like tobacco. Usage in other countries is reported (21).

278 In Tonga the bark is pounded and the juices applied in treating ringworm.

757

GUTTIFERAE
(Mangosteen Family)

278 **Calophyllum inophyllum L.**

137 *feta'u, tamanu*

This species occurs frequently near the sea in Tonga. It is distributed from eastern Africa and India through Malaya and Polynesia.

278 171 The oil extracted from the seeds is used in Samoa in treating rheumatism (12). Quisumbing (21) reports that it is poisonous and that the Samoans use parts of the plant in preparing an arrow poison. In New Caledonia the sap is applied to wounds, and oil from the seeds enters into the preparation of a digestive aid (19). Natives of the Philippines value the oil from the seeds and leaves in treating eye disorders; the oleoresin is applied to wounds, and an infusion of the leaves to hemorrhoids. Oleoresin from this species is official in the Mexican and Spanish Pharmacopoeias (21).

278 757 In Tonga the oil is a well-known remedy for rheumatism (4).

Garcinia sessilis (Forst. f.) Seem.

278 *heilala*

137 This tree, occasional in Tonga, occurs also in Fiji and Samoa.

In New Guinea a species of *Garcinia* from the Zenag, Nondugl, and Popondetta regions contains saponins and other steroids (30). 278 171 In the Philippines the leaves and bark of *G. mangostana* L. enter into astringent and febrifuge preparations. The pericarp is used in curing chronic intestinal catarrh (21).

278 757 In Tonga this plant is frequently employed medicinally. The leaves are squeezed in water and applied to skin rashes; a decoction of young leaves is considered helpful for stomach ache in children or for infants [828 [775 suffering from a "sleeping fit." When it is believed that ghosts have caused hallucinations in a patient an infusion of the leaves is prepared and administered.

278 is prepared and administered. The leaves
are commonly used for infected eyes (conjunctivitis):
757 they are chewed and squeezed
through tapa cloth into the affected organ.
This use is also reported by Koch (15).

278
HERNANDIACEAE
137
(Hernandia Family)

Gyrocarpus americanus Jacq. ssp.
americanus
pukovili

This tree, occasional in Tonga, is distributed pantropically.

278 Yuncker (32) reports that in Tonga the
leaves and bark are esteemed medicinally.
757 A drink made from the bark is taken for
edema following childbirth and in treating
stomach ache. Koch (15) reports that a
similar preparation is used in cases of filariasis.

278 **Hernandia moerenhoutiana** Guill. ssp.
campanulata Kubitzki
137 *pipi, pipitui*

This large tree occurs throughout the archipelago and is found from the Society Islands to Fiji.

278 Yuncker reports that in Niue the flowers
are used medicinally (32). In the Philip-
171 pines the oil from *H. ovigera* L. is employed
as a hair restorer and for dandruff (21).

278 In Tonga the leaves, bark, and flowers
are pounded together and applied to boils.
757

278
LEGUMINOSAE
(Bean Family)

137 **Calopogonium mucunoides** Desv.
fuekala

This species is found occasionally in villages throughout Tonga.

278 The leaves are used rarely as a cure for
757 filariasis in Tonga.

Erythrina variegata L. var. *orientalis*
278 (L.) Merr.
137 *ngatae*

This small tree is frequent throughout Tonga and occurs from India to Polynesia.

278 In Niue the bark and small twigs are used
in medicine (31). The roots and the leaves
171 are employed in the Philippines as a feb-

278 rifuge and it is reported that the bark is a
[171] depressant (8).

In Tonga the leaves are pounded and squeezed through a piece of tapa cloth into a bowl of cold water. One teaspoonful of
278 the resulting filtrate is taken to cure convul-
757 sions in infants. The drink is sometimes resorted to for stomach ache (15).

278 Inocarpus edulis J. R. & G. Forst.
ifi

137 This plant is found throughout Tonga and occurs from Malaysia to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the pounded bark is applied to bites of poisonous fish (19). In Niue the
137 leaves of *I. fagiferus* are used in medicines (31).

278 Koch (15) reports that in Tonga the bark is valued in treating diarrhea in children.
757

Pueraria lobata (Willd.) Ohwi
278 *fue'aepuaka, aka*

137 This vine, frequent in Tonga, ranges from Asia and Malaya to Polynesia.

According to Yuncker *P. lobata* is used
278 medicinally (32).

278 Vigna marina (Burm.) Merr.
lautolu tahi

137 This long-trailing pantropical vine is common on beaches in Tonga.

A drink prepared by squeezing the young
278 leaves through a piece of cloth into a bowl
757 of water is taken in Tonga to cure "sleeping fits" in infants. The crushed leaves are applied to boils, and steam which originates from the leaves when they are placed in a basin of boiling water is inhaled to cure
[753] fever and headache. Aches believed to be caused by ghosts of deceased relatives are
[775] treated by applying the crushed leaves to the affected part of the body.

278
LILIACEAE
(Lily Family)

137 Cordyline terminalis (L.) Kunth.
si

This plant is found throughout Tonga and is widely distributed in Polynesia.

278 A species of *Cordyline* is used widely in
[171] the Pacific (21).
[757] In Tonga the leaves of *C. terminalis* are

[p.440-B]

278 squeezed into well-water and the liquid is used to cure eye infections. The ripe leaves
757 are crushed in combination with Tongan oil and applied to abscesses of the gums.

278
LOGANIACEAE
(Strychnine Family)

137 Geniostoma insulare A. C. Sm. & Stone var. *insulare* f. *insulare*

te'epilo' āmaui

This species is native to Tonga and Fiji.
278 Hunt (12) reports that members of this genus are used medicinally in Samoa. A
[171] drink prepared from the bark of *G. insulare*
[757] is valued in Tonga in treating constipation.

278
LORANTHACEAE
(Mistletoe Family)

137 Amylotheca insularum (Gray) Danser

kainikavea, topu'uno

This species is found growing on tree branches in forests throughout Tonga. It is found also in Fiji, Samoa, and the Society Islands.

278 The leaves are used in medicine (32).

278
MALVACEAE
(Hibiscus Family)

137 Hibiscus tiliaceus L.

fau

This plant is frequent in Tonga and is distributed pantropically.

278 In Tahiti *H. tiliaceus* is reported to be an emmenagogue; its flowers are emollient (19).
171 In Niue the flowers are used medicinally (31).

278 In Tonga the bark and young leaves are utilized in treating skin disorders (32). The
757 leaves are chewed and then applied while the bark is pounded, water added, and the solution squeezed through a piece of tapa cloth onto the affected area.

278 Thespesia populnea (L.) Soland. ex Correa

137 *milo*

This pantropical tree is a frequent shore plant in Tonga.

278 An extract of the fruit is used in Niue as a purge and is applied to swollen testicles
171 (31). In Tahiti a preparation of the green

278 capsules is employed to alleviate migraine
headache, and the yellow latex is applied to
171 insect bites (19). In the Philippines a
decoction of the leaves is considered a cure
for itches. Other economic applications are
reported (21).

278 A drink prepared from the ripe leaves and
757 bark is given in Tonga to teething children
who run a fever and have an excessive saliva
856 flow.

278 **URENA LOBATA L.**

mo'osipo

137 This common pantropical weed occurs in
Tonga.

278 In Samoa the leaves are applied locally in
filarial swellings (12). The plant is used
171 in Tahiti as an emmenagogue (19). In the
Philippines a decoction of the root is valued
for colic, the boiled leaves are applied as a
poultice in inflammations of the intestines
and bladder, and a decoction of the roots
and leaves valued as an emollient (21).

278 In Tonga the leaves are squeezed by hand
[752] and poulticed to burns and scalds. An infusion of the roots and leaves is considered
[757] a cure for diarrhea.

MELIACEAE

278 (Mahogany Family)

137 **AGLAIA SALTATORUM A. C. Sm.**

langakali

This shrub is found throughout Tonga
and in Fiji and Niue.

278 In the Philippines a decoction of the roots
and leaves of *A. odorata* Lour. is esteemed
[171] as a tonic (21).

In Tonga the bark is employed in medicine.

278 **DYSOXYLUM FORSTERI (Juss.) C. DC.**

mo'ota

137 This tree is endemic throughout Tonga.

Species of *Dysoxylum* from several regions of New Guinea proved positive in tests
278 for saponins and other steroids (30). In the
Philippines a decoction of the juice of the
171 fresh bark of *D. decandrum* is used for
coughs (21).

278 The steam from the leaves of this plant
(when pressed in a basin of boiling water)
757 is inhaled in Tonga to cure headache and
reduce fever.

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
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278
137 **XYLOCARPUS GRANATUM Koenig**
lekileki

This tree is found near mangrove swamps in Tonga and is distributed from India and Ceylon through Malaysia and Polynesia.

278
171 The bark is said to be astringent and a decoction of the fruit and seeds is used in the Philippines as an antidiarrheic (21).

278
757 In Tonga the bark is crushed and boiled in water. One tablespoonful taken three times a day is prescribed for any type of high fever, but especially for fever accompanied by a "black, furry tongue."

278
137

MORACEAE
(Fig Family)

ARTOCARPUS ALTILIS (Parkinson) Fosberg
mei

The breadfruit tree is cultivated throughout the Pacific Islands and in parts of the New World.

278
171 In Fiji an infusion of the root-bark is utilized in the treatment of internal fractures.

278
757 In Tonga an infusion of the bark is used in cases of relapsed illness. Boils are treated with the white gum which exudes when the steam is incised. The boil is then covered with a piece of tapa that has been soaked in Tongan oil. The dressing is changed daily, and the boil washed with sea water until a cure is effected.

278
137 **FICUS OBLIQUA Forst. f.**
'ovava

This large tree is frequent throughout Tonga, Samoa, and westward to the New Hebrides.

278
757 An infusion of the leaves is used in Tonga to treat convulsions in infants. An infusion of the pounded bark is employed for treating boils or tumors of the breast. Koch (15) reports that the yellow leaves are chewed and applied to boils.

278
137

MYRTACEAE
(Myrtle Family)

PSIDIUM GUAJAVA L.
kuava

This tropical American tree is rather common in the Pacific Islands.

[p. 442-A]

278 171 Papy (19) reports that this plant enters into the preparation of an astringent in Tahiti. In Niue the leaves are considered "ghost medicine" (31). In the Philippines the leaves, bark, and roots are employed in decoction for washing wounds and ulcers. The bark and leaves reportedly are astringent and antidiarrheic in decoction. Wide usage in other countries is reported by Quisumbing (21) who states that the roots are official in the Mexican Pharmacopoeia and the leaves official in the Dutch and Mexican Pharmacopoeias.

278 757 In Tonga the juice of chewed leaves is swallowed as a treatment for stomach ache.

278 137 **SYZYGIUM CORYNOCARPUM** (A. Gray) C. Muell.
hehea

This small tree is occasional in Tonga and occurs also in Fiji and Samoa.

278 757 In Tonga the bark represents one component of a general tonic but more importantly the chewed leaves appear to be employed frequently as a topical treatment for tumors of the breast. This species merits detailed chemical and pharmacological analysis. (See VII, Discussion.)[A]

278 137 **SYZYGIUM MALACCENSE** (L.) Merr. & Perry
fekika kai

The mountain apple tree, a native of India and Malaya, is found on many Pacific islands.

278 171 In Tahiti the leaves are utilized in treating bronchitis, and the bark is considered tonic and astringent (19). The bark is used in Niue in treating mouth sores in children (31). An infusion of the bark is taken in Fiji as a cure for the "flu." Quisumbing (21) reports wide usage of this plant in other countries (as a diuretic, for dysentery, as a mouthwash for thrush, etc.).

278 757 In Tonga, the bark is valued as a general tonic, and an infusion of the bark is taken for coughs (15) and to relieve constipation.

NYCTAGINACEAE
(Four O'Clock Family)

278 137 **PISONIA GRANDIS** R. Br.
pukovai

This tree is occasionally found in Tonga. It is distributed from the Moluccas through

[A] [See Category 278, p. 449-B— Analyst.]

278 Borneo, Australia, the Marianas, the Philippines, and Polynesia.

[171] A drink made from an infusion of the bark is taken in Tonga to treat *fefi'aloto*, a [757] term which I am not able to translate.

278 OLEACEAE
(Olive Family)

137 **Jasminium simplicifolium** Forst. f.
tutu'uli

This vine, occasional in Tonga, is found in Australia, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, Fiji, and Polynesia.

278 171 Quisumbing (21) reports wide usage of this genus in other countries.

278 757 In Tonga an infusion of the pounded leaves is valued in treating cases of relapsed illness; an infusion of the bark provides a treatment for jaundice ("person yellow") and for ulcers. Koch (15) reports that the leaves are utilized to cure headaches: the left or right side of the leaf is chosen, according to which side of the head is aching, and then six of them are chewed inside a piece of fresh tapa cloth until the juices mixed with saliva flow freely. This liquid is then dripped into both eyes and nostrils. This kind of preparation is rare.

278 OXALIDACEAE
(Wood Sorrel Family)

137 **Oxalis corniculata** L.
kihikihi

This small pantropical herb is common throughout Tonga.

278 171 In the Philippines the leaves are considered antiscorbutic and the juice of the leaves is used for cleaning wounds and for itches. A decoction of the leaves is taken for fevers and dysentery. It is also reported by Quisumbing (21) that the fresh juice of the leaves relieves *Datura* intoxication.

278 757 An infusion of the leaves is used in Tonga to cure convulsions in infants.

PIPERACEAE
278 (Pepper Family)

137 **Piper methysticum** Forst. f.
kava

276 This shrub is found in most Tongan vil-

278
137 lages and is distributed widely throughout
the Pacific Islands.

276 In Samoa (12) the root is used in treating
gonorrhea. In New Caledonia the leaves
278 are chewed to cure bronchitis, and in New
Guinea the plant is taken as a tonic and
171 soporific and is said to be valuable in treating
gonorrhea and inflammations of the
uterus (3). In Fiji the roots are pulverized
and a drink prepared which has sedative
[276 properties. The employment of the roots in
making a drink is widespread in Tonga and
other Pacific Islands; detailed chemical and
pharmacological analysis has been undertaken
and is reviewed by Keller and Klohs
(13).

278 In Tonga, the yellow leaves are sometimes
pounded and an infusion used to soothe crying
757 infants.

278 **Piper puberulum** (Benth.) Benth. var.
glabrum (C. DC.) A. C. Sm.
137 *kavakava'uli*

This variety is very common in Tonga and
occurs also in Fiji and Samoa.

278 In Fiji the leaves are chewed until moist
171 and applied to wounds.

In Tonga the inner bark is boiled and the
278 resulting liquid drunk in cases of filariasis
and other inflammations. Boils are commonly
757 treated by application of the pounded
leaves.

278
POLYPODIACEAE
137
(Common Fern Family)

Phymatodes scolopendria (Burm.) Ching
laufale

This fern is common in plantations and waste areas throughout the archipelago. It is found also in Africa, Australia, Ceylon, southern China, Madagascar, Malaysia, and New Zealand.

278 The smoke given off when this plant is
heated over a fire is inhaled in regions of
137 New Guinea to relieve catarrh (27). In
Niue the leaves are used medicinally (31).

278 In Tonga an infusion of the pounded
leaves or bark is prescribed for infants suffer-
757 ing from filariasis. It is considered a promising
sign if this brings out a rash. The
pounded leaves are also applied to boils.

[p. 443-B]

278

RHAMNACEAE

(Buckthorn Family)

137 Alphitonia zizyphoides (Spreng.) A. Gray
toi

This large tree is frequent in Tonga and is distributed also from Sumatra and the Philippines eastward to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the bark enters into lotions for treating eczema (19).

[171] [757] [841] In Tonga the liquid derived from the boiled bark is drunk in cases of constipation, for coughs, headache, and menstrual pain.

RUBIACEAE

278

(Coffee Family)

137 Carinta herbacea (Jacq.) W. F. Wight, ex Saff.
tono

This pantropical species is occasional in Tonga.

278 846 In Tonga the leaves are crushed, placed in a cloth, and then squeezed in a small quantity of water. The wet cloth is sucked by newly born infants. The liquid is thought to help make the meconium pass.

278 Gardenia taitensis DC.
siale

137 Frequently planted in Tonga for its flowers, this species occurs also in Fiji and throughout Polynesia.

278 171 In Tahiti an infusion of the flowers is taken as a remedy for migraine headache (19). In Niue the root-bark is considered a treatment for headache (31), while in the Philippines the fruits of *G. pseudopsidium* (Blanco) Vill. are used against smallpox (8).

278 757 [843] [775] [828] In Tonga an infusion of the bark mixed with sugar and lime juice is employed to relieve nausea, headache, and weakness in pregnancy. A plain infusion of the bark is valued as a cure for hallucinations thought to be caused by the ghost of a deceased relative.

Guettarda speciosa L.

278 *puopua*

137 This tree is commonly found near the shore in Tonga, and is widely distributed throughout Polynesia.

[p. 444-A]

278 171 In Tahiti this species has antidiarrhetic, febrifugal, and anticholinergic applications (19).

278 757 An infusion of the inner bark prepared with boiling water is esteemed in Tonga as a treatment for epilepsy.

278 **MORINDA CITRIFOLIA L.**
nonu

137 The Indian mulberry is common in thickets throughout Tonga and is distributed from India eastward to Polynesia.

278 171 In Fiji the fruit is valuable in treating kidney problems (20). In Niue, Yuncker (31) reports that the bark, leaves, and flowers are used in medicines. In the Philippines the fruit is used as an emmenagogue, the sap of the leaves as an antidiarrheic, and the fresh leaves are applied to external ulcers (21). In Samoa the leaves are employed to cure rheumatism and in cases of filarial swellings (12).

278 757 This is one of the most commonly used cures for diarrhea in infants; the crushed leaves moistened in water are applied to aching joints or massaged into aching muscles; the fruits are crushed and the juice dripped onto aching teeth or sore gums; and the leaves enter into general tonics.

278 **TARENNA SAMBUCINA** (Forst. f.) Durand
manonu

137 This species is frequent in Tonga and is found from Micronesia and New Caledonia eastward to the Tuamotu Archipelago.

278 171 In Niue a liniment is made from the fruit (31), while in Fiji this species is considered a good treatment for rheumatism and swelling of the groin (20).

278 757 A drink prepared from the boiled bark is taken in Tonga to relieve constipation and as a general tonic.

278
RUTACEAE
(Rue Family)

137 **EVODIA HORTENSIS** J. R. & G. Forst. f.
SIMPLICIFOLIA (Rechinger) K. Schum. ex Lauterb.
uhi

This variety is occasional in Tonga and is widely distributed in the Pacific Islands.

[p. 444-B]

278 171 Species of *Evodia* from several regions of New Guinea contain alkaloids (30). In Fiji an infusion of the bark is used as an emmenagogue, while in Niue the leaves are chewed to relieve toothache and stomachache (31).

278 757 An infusion of the leaves is taken in Tonga as a laxative and to reduce fevers. Crushed leaves mixed with Tongan oil are applied to sores of the gum, and Koch (15) reports that the leaves are massaged on aching heads and employed to cure earache.

278

SAPINDACEAE
(Soapberry Family)

137 **POMETIA PINNATA J. R. & G. Forst.**
tava

This large tree is occasional in Tonga and is found in Malaya, New Guinea, and Polynesia.

278 171 In Fiji an infusion of the bark is taken as a diuretic. Species of *Pometia* from the Yalu and Popondetta regions of New Guinea contain saponins and other steroids (30).

278 757 Koch (15) reports that in Tonga an infusion of the bark is used to cure diarrhea in children, while Yuncker (32) states that the bark is utilized in treating "stomach troubles." A bark infusion is drunk to treat serious coughs accompanied by fever, constipation, and it is sometimes applied locally to diaper rashes.

278

SOLANACEAE
(Tomato Family)

137 **CAPSICUM FRUTESCENS L.**
polo

The pantropical red pepper plant is found around dwellings in Tonga.

278 171 The fruit is official in the Argentine, United States, British, and Indian Pharmacopoeias (21).

278 757 The fruits of this species enter into many remedies in Tonga, especially for treating diseases of the skin. The leaves are chewed, and the juice swallowed as a remedy for tuberculosis. The juice is applied to the eyes in cases of mild conjunctivitis. One remedy for jaundice consists of four fruits and one handful of bark mixed in one pint of water. The patient is advised to sip this solution twice daily until cured.

278 PHYSALIS ANGULATA L.
polo pa

137 This herb, an occasional weed in Tonga, is distributed widely in warm countries.

278 Yuncker (32) reports that in Tonga the leaves are used medicinally.

278 PHYSALIS PERUVIANA L.
ku'usi

137 This pantropical species is an occasional plantation weed in Tonga.

In Tahiti parts of this plant have diuretic
278 value and are used also in treating abscesses
171 and for conjunctivitis (19). Quisumbing
(21) reports usage in other countries.

278 According to Yuncker (32) the leaves are employed in medicine.

278 SOLANUM UPORO Dun.
polo tonga

137 This plant is occasional in Tonga and occurs also in Tahiti and Rarotonga.

278 Papy (19) reports that in Tahiti the plant is used as a sedative, as a diuretic, for con-
171 junctivitis, and in treating abscesses.

A drink made from an infusion of the
278 leaves is used to reduce filarial swellings.
757 The crushed leaves are applied to boils, fungal infections, and tumors of the breast. Because of the wide usage of this plant detailed chemical and pharmacological analysis should be undertaken.

278

THYMELAEACEAE

(Akia Family)

137 WIKSTROEMIA ROTUNDIFOLLIA (Forst.) Decaisne
lala vao

This species is found in Tonga and Niue.

278 Yuncker (32) reports that in Tonga a physic is prepared from an extract of the root.

278

TILIACEAE

(Linden Family)

137 TRIUMFETTA BARTRAMIA L.
mo'osipo

The bur bush is frequent throughout Tonga and is found also from Malaya through the Mariana Islands and Polynesia.

278 In the Philippines a decoction of the roots
[171] is used for treating intestinal ulcers (21).

In Tonga the leaves are crushed and
[752] applied to burns and scalds.

278

ULMACEAE
(Elm Family)

137 **Trema amboinensis** (Willd.) Bl.

mangele

This tree, occasional in Tonga, is found from South-Eastern China to Australia eastward to Polynesia.

278 [171] In the Philippines the softwood is pounded and the resulting fluid applied as a poultice to swellings (21).

Yuncker reports that in Tonga the leaves are used medicinally (32).

278 **Trema orientalis** (L.) Bl.

137 *mangele*

This species is frequent in thickets throughout Tonga and is found in other islands in the Pacific.

278 It is reported that in Tonga the leaves are used in medicine (32).

278

UMBELLIFERAE
(Parsley Family)

137 **Centella asiatica** (L.) Urb.

tono

The Asiatic pennywort is found throughout Tonga and is distributed pantropically.

278 171 Hunt (12) reports that the leaves are used medicinally in Samoa. The plant is used medicinally in Niue (31) and also in the Philippines where the sap from the leaves is applied to wounds and the seeds are used for treating dysentery, fever, and headache. This plant is used widely in other countries; as a tonic, as a hypotensive, and as a circulatory stimulant. The leaves are official in the Dutch, French, Mexican, Spanish, Indian, and Venezuelan Pharmacopoeias (21).

278 757 In Tonga the leaves are used as poultices (32), in tonics, and as an infusion for treating convulsions in infants.

278

URTICACEAE
(Nettle Family)

137 **Pipturus argenteus** (Forst. f.) Wedd. var. **lanosus** Skott.

olonga, tou

This small tree is frequent on cliffs in Tonga and is also found in Samoa and Rotuma.

278 171 In New Guinea, the plant juices are ap-

278 171 plied locally to wounds and used for toothache (27). In the Philippines, scrapings from the bark of *P. arborescens* are applied to boils (21).

278 In Tonga the bark and leaves are valued for medicinal purposes (32).

278 VERBENACEAE
(Verbena Family)

137 CLERODENDRUM INERME (L.) Gaertner
tutuhina

This shrub is frequent near the shore in Tonga and occurs also from India through Malaya eastward to Polynesia.

278 171 Hunt (12) reports that the leaves of this species are used in Samoa in treating fevers. In the Philippines, a decoction of the roots is taken as a febrifuge and the leaves are applied as poultices. Quisumbing (21) also reports other usage. The sailors of Macassar employed a decoction of freshly pounded seeds to offset the effects of eating poisonous seafoods—fish, crabs, etc. (21).

278 757 An infusion of the pounded bark is drunk in Tonga as a remedy for liver disorders and in treating ulcers.

278 137 LANTANA CAMARA var. MIST (L.)
L. H. Bailey
talatala

This plant is occasional in Tonga and is distributed pantropically.

278 171 In the Philippines a decoction of the fresh roots is gargled to relieve toothache (21). Diguangco (8) reports that the pounded leaves are used to reduce inflammations and that a lotion is prepared for treating rheumatism. He states also that the active constituent—lantanine—is an alkaloid that acts like quinine in reducing fever and slowing circulation.

278 752 In Tonga, the leaves are chewed until moist and applied to cuts. A variation of the above treatment consists of warming the leaves near a fire and then applying the plant juices directly on the cut or wound.

278 137 PREMNA TAITENSIS var. RIMATARENSIS
F. H. Br.
volovalo

This species is frequent in Tonga and ranges also from Fiji eastward to the Marquesas.

[p.446-B]

278 171 In Tahiti, the leaves are used for treating toothache and neuralgia (19), and in Niue, they are reportedly esteemed in treating tuberculosis (31). Hunt (12) reports that the plant is employed in Samoa.

278 757 In Tonga, boiling water is poured over the leaves into a basin and the steam inhaled as a cure for fever and headache. The bark is boiled and is an ingredient in a general tonic.

278 137

ZINGIBERACEAE
(Ginger Family)

CURCUMA LONGA L.

ango

The turmeric plant, distributed widely in warm countries, is occasional throughout Tonga.

278 171 A decoction of the rhizome is used in treating conjunctivitis (8) and a mixture of the rhizomes with coconut oil is prepared as a vulnerary (21) in the Philippines. The rhizomes are official in numerous pharmacopoeias.

278 844 386 A solution of the rhizome was formerly painted on the mother's body prior to parturition as an antiseptic. This practice is no longer common in Tonga. *Ango* is presently found in "brick" form. These bricks are prepared by first removing the outer layer of the rhizome and then pounding the latter and adding water. The fine dye grains are separated from the rough starch grains and the dye grains dried in the sun until they have a "creamy" consistency. This mass is then placed in a bamboo tube and baked in a Tongan earth oven until dry. The circular bricks are removed as needed.

278 137 **ZINGIBER ZERUMBET (L.) J. E. Smith**

angoango

Wild ginger, widely distributed in warm countries, is frequent in Tonga.

278 171 In the Philippines, the pulverized rhizome is used as an antidiarrheic (8). Stopp (27) reports that in New Guinea juice derived from the rhizome is employed for treating burns or cuts and that small pieces of the rhizome in combination with "other plants" are valued to relieve toothache.

278 Yuncker (32) states that in Tonga the rhizome has medicinal uses.

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

757 Martin's report on life in Tonga indicates
that around the year 1800 few plants were
278 used in treating illnesses (17). There is no
reason to doubt his observations. However,
the possibility that plants were generally
used in medicines before 1800 must not be
eliminated on the basis of this single report.
Evidence from other regions of the Pacific
171 and from ethnographic studies of primitive
278 cultures in general suggests that plants
757 were used in medicines to some extent by
most peoples. By attempting to evaluate the
121 relative date of introduction to Tonga of the
species enumerated in Section V, perhaps
some conclusion as to the origin of plant
remedies in Tonga can be determined. For
128 this purpose, I have divided the 71 enumerated
medicinal plants into three categories:
endemic, indigenous, and of recent introduction.
For the purposes of this discussion,
"endemic plants" refers to species found only
in the archipelago; "indigenous plants" are
those found generally throughout Polynesia
and of pre-European introduction; and "recently
introduced species" are those from
tropical America, Africa, Asia, or India that
were introduced after Europeans first arrived
in Tonga. Table V lists those species
which are indigenous to Tonga and which
{278} are used in medicines. Table VI lists those
which are used in medicines and which are
[137] considered of recent, or post-European, introduction.

137 Of the species listed above, one is endemic,
49 are considered indigenous or of
278 pre-European introduction to Tonga, and
only 21 are of post-European introduction.
Therefore of the total of 71 species enumerated,
68% are indigenous to Tonga and 30%
174 are recently introduced. As the majority of
enumerated medicinal plants are native or
757 of pre-European introduction to Tonga and
the use of plants in Tonga is assumed to
[177] have flourished after 1800, it is possible to
conclude that the Tongan may have learned
the many plant remedies enumerated herein
from other Pacific islanders and/or from
Europeans who learned of certain plant
remedies in their travels and entered the
archipelago after visiting these other island
[114] groups. It is also possible to conclude that
Martin's (17) observations were, in fact, incorrect
and that medicinal plants were used
000 by Tongans before 1800. Perhaps the Ton-

[p.448-B]

laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring 643
to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsi-
bilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, 173
and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that
the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The
establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning
of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities
of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually
transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was 643
enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and 582
the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually
given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result 644
the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be
in a relationship of *fahu*[2] (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who
would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system
was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and
later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to
support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption 643
that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the 423
beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights pos-
sessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition [651]
of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre- [776]

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[2] The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the [604]
commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji,
the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit [171]
all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester
(1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into [174]
western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu*
right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have
passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan
social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is
supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the
marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i
Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and
theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the
late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among [565]
commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the
chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly
enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223).

423

allocated land left for leasing. Consequently land borrowing by 425
those who already have allotments of their own is common, and 182
land use by no means coincides with the tenure of land. Yet
borrowing is not always a satisfactory solution, for the borrower
can seldom obtain land except for a short period and for short-
term crops. While the more enterprising therefore tend to be [311]
hampered by the land tenure system, the lazy are protected, for
at present the government makes no attempt to enforce the pro-
visions in the Land Act requiring landholders to cultivate their
allotments and plant coconuts.

Land borrowing may also restrict the lender's control over the 425
use of his holding for, despite individual tenure, requests from 571
close relatives and friends for the temporary use of land are 602
difficult to refuse, and such requests are not necessarily made [423]
only to those who have land to spare. Social obligations of this
nature also restrict the independence of the farmer in other ways
familiar to the student of the South Pacific. For instance, rela- [241]
tives and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets
of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase pro-
duction find their efforts hampered. Such obligations continue [178]
to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the [554]
prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil
their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual [182]
and his family. Marriages and funerals also involve obligations
of kinship and friendship. A study of the literature on Western 571
Samoa and Fiji, and the comments of Tongans who have lived 602
in Samoa and Samoans who have lived in Tonga, suggest that
the Tongan farmer may be able to achieve a slightly greater 423
degree of independence, without having to contract out of his 182
society, than is the case in the neighbouring territories, and for 241
this the system of landholding is probably largely responsible.
At the same time, however, individual tenure in Tonga has not [171]
produced fully independent farmers, for social obligations still
restrict the individual's control over his land, his time and his
produce.

SOME BENEFITS OF THE SYSTEM

Although various factors have thus restricted the effectiveness of 423
the Tongan land tenure system both as a method of land alloca- 182
tion and as a basis for land use, it has many good points. It has
provided many men with secure, lifetime, individual leaseholds
which can be passed on to their descendants; it has enabled
Tonga to avoid the problems of fragmentation, subdivision and

84: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972   OU9 Tonga OU9

Appendix

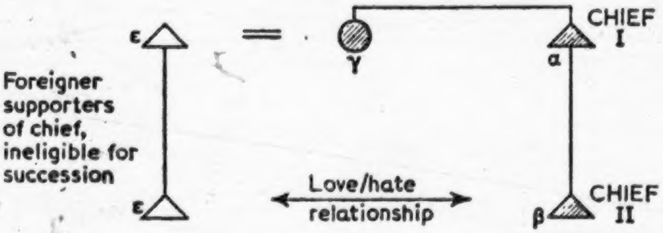
EDMUND LEACH

The following supplementary analysis is the result of discussion between the editor and the author. 128

Patrilineal structures of the type represented by the reduced model shown in *Figure I* are quite familiar and have been extensively discussed in a polemical body of literature that emphasizes, as a rule, the ambiguous relationship between ε and his mother's brother α. In a society that stresses the theme of perpetual succession the relationship between the structural cross-cousins (β/ε) is interchangeable with that of mother's brother/sister's son (α/ε). Much of the argument deployed in Radcliffe-Brown (1924) and connected literature, as cited in Goody (1969), could be relevant to the Tongan case, and indeed Tonga features in that literature (cf. Goody, 1969, p. 81). 602 604 171

Figure I

[565]
[607]



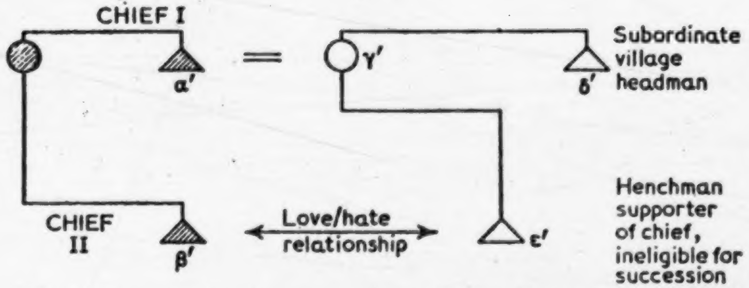
A comparable matrilineal structure is that made famous by Malinowski's discussion of the relation between the Trobriand chief and his sons and heirs. It can be represented by *Figure II.*

[p. 283]

84: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972   OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure II

602
604
171



The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α, ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β, even though β is politically superior.

[565] [607] The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ, which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).[1]

[276] [574] [551] In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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[1] /See 82: Leach -- Analyst/

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

(1) There is a tendency for passing-notes to be introduced or preferred, AC becoming ABC, for example, or AGC becoming ABC.[This is also true for Samoa.] A good example is Mason's tune for "Nearer to Thee," in the Sankey and Moody hymnbook. The original is: G major, 6/4, B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:–:G:–:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:—:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:A:–:–: | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:–:–:–:x. This becomes: B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:G:A:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:A:–:– | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x.

533
177
[171]

(2) Short phrases tend to be repeated without change where the original varies them. Sullivan's "St. Gertrude" ("Onward, Christian Soldiers") is unchanged for the first three lines, but then substitutes for the original DCBC/DCBC/DCBA/G the perhaps more effective repetition DCBA/DCBA/DCBA/G, and continues to vary to the end of the refrain: F major, 4/4, F:*c*:F:*c* | F:*e*:F:G | G:G:F:G | A:–:–:– |A:C:(F):E | (F):–:C:– | B:A:G:–,F | F:–:–:–. Here the first bar is a theft from the bass, which, with the inevitable avoidance of unison (section 4 below) goes instead to FECE.

(3) Accidentals are disliked in Tonga [and in Samoa]. A good example is the Converse "What a Friend," perhaps better known to "When this Something War is Over," which takes the form shown in example "A." Here the second note in bar 9 should be F-sharp: most sang G for it, though F-natural was also heard, with an odd effect. Passing-notes appear in bars 1, 5, 13, of which the last note in each case is F in the original; and in bars 4 and 12 where the second and third notes are added. Bars 2, 6 and 14 also introduce notes, the final F helping towards the C following in the next bars. In the original, bars 7 and 15 do not repeat bar 5, but take the form C:–,F:AG:FE (which was also heard at times). The change here exemplifies the liking for repetitions (section 2 above) and perhaps also the dislike of the "Western" ending (section 9 below).

[171]

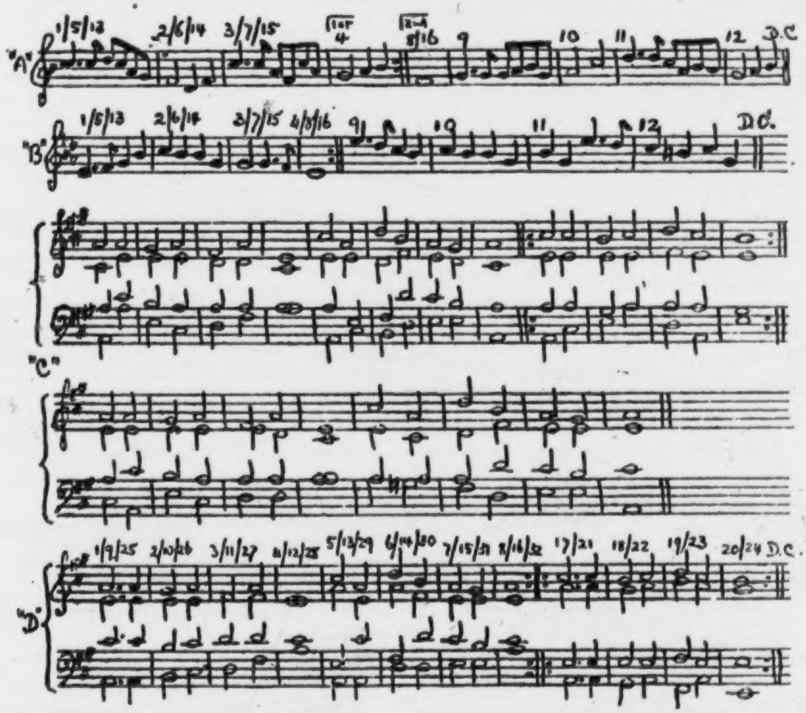
A tune which has been oddly twisted, apparently both to avoid accidentals and to gain repetitions, is Beaty's "Caritas," from the 1904 Methodist Hymnbook, of which the original form is shown in example "B." In the variant, bars 1 and 2 (and 4, 6 of the repeat) are unchanged; bars 3 (and 7) change to G:–:F:–,E to give the "level" ending referred to in section 9 below; bars 4 (and 8) are unchanged. Then for bar 9 the eleventh bar of the original is sung, for bar 10 the tenth; and for bars 11 and 12 these same two bars eleven and ten of the original are sung in that order, avoiding the B-natural of bar 12. The remainder is unchanged, except for GFE in bar 15, as in bars 3 and 7.

(4) It is obvious that the lower parts are even more likely to be altered than is the melody. Thus, for example, the bass part of Giardini's "Moscow" ("Thou whose Almighty Word"), in which the melody is unaltered, takes the form: G major, 3/4, G:B:C | D:–:D | (G):–:– | (G):F:(G) | E:–:(G) | D:–:– | B:G:B | D:–:– | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | C:B:A: | G:–,A:B | C:D:D | G:–:–. In the original, bars 11 and 12 do not repeat 9 and 10, but introduce accidentals, the variant thus

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

533 exemplifying sections (2) and (3) above. But the outstanding feature is that in bars 7 and 8 the unison of all parts in the original is discarded.

177 Unison is detested in Tonga [and in Samoa]. If two boys sang a tune for me, [171] one would invariably drift off either to a second or to a descant; if three, both second and descant would probably appear. Altos often sing their part an octave higher, as a descant; even tenors and basses often take their parts above the soprano melody, singing in falsetto. In fact, even in church it is often difficult to recognize the melody unless one already knows it; and when a group is singing on a boat or a verandah, the listener often discovers that no one at all is singing the melody. As a Tongan lad put it: " But everyone *knows* that tune: no fun to sing it!" The result is often disconcerting, an " Enigma Variation " where one feels sure that one knows the tune, but cannot hear it.


"A"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
1st 4
2nd 8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C.
"B"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
4/8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C.
"C"
"D"
1/9/25
2/10/26
3/11/27
4/12/28
5/13/29
6/14/30
7/15/31
8/16/32
17/21
18/22
19/23
20/24
D.C.

(5) Undoubtedly some of the variants noted originated as tenor or bass descants 171 (e.g. that of section (2) above). [Samoa provided an excellent example of this, Jackson's " Trentham " (A.T. 3 in the new Methodist Hymnbook), which took the

form: F major, 6/8, C:(F):E:D:–:A | C:–:–:–:x | C:C:C:D:–:D | E:–:–:–:x | C:D:D:C:–:A | A:G:A:B:–:– | F:*e*:F:A:–:G | F:–:–:–:–:–. Here it will be found by reference to the original that the first four bars are stolen from the tenor (which of course goes off on a course of its own rather than accept unison with the sopranos), except that in the first bar an A replaces the accidental B-flat of the original (section 3 above). Then the next two bars are entirely new; and for the last two bars the original soprano part reappears.] 171

The "Trinesian" aptitude for instantly extemporizing parts to a newly-heard tune has been remarked on by many writers (e.g. King for Fiji, who tried them with classical melodies). Caillot, however, writes for Tahiti that although "harmony is innate in them" and "they never sing except in chorus," yet "they have known harmony only since they have been in contact with civilization," which, if true, is more than odd.

(6) A particularly interesting case is that of Burgoyne's "Spanish Chant," since not only was the accepted variant fully noted, but a sub-variant was actually heard in process of development. The original is given as example "C": no metronome-mark is shown, but the probable speed is in the order of 80 semibreves to the minute, at the most. 533 177

Tonga sings it about three times as fast, and changes to a dotted rhythm in the first bar of each phrase, giving the really exciting tune of example "D." It will be noted that bars 25 to 32 exactly repeat bars 1 to 8, thus avoiding the accidental of bar 29 in the original (sections 2 and 3 above). The use by the bass in bars 17 to 24 of the opening melody is very attractive; the alto part in these bars exemplifies the fondness for following the melody a third below, as mentioned later (section 13). Some of the harmonies may seem peculiar, but were transcribed from the numerical sol-fa manuscript score lent by the choirmaster, and can therefore be guaranteed. 533 177 [126]

After this had been recorded, a boy was heard whistling the melody. Bar 7 did not please him; after repeatedly whistling the first six bars he hit on EDCB for the seventh, and enthusiastically adopted it; and after a few repetitions altered (as was to be expected) the B of bar 6 to a D, better to lead into the run. This run suggested that something similar should occur in the next phrase, and he tried, for bar 19, the run DCBA. This was at once abandoned, and EDCB and FEDC were tried, in both cases with the C of bar 18 changed to a D as a passing-note. The attractive alternative of putting this FEDC run into bar 20 was also tried, with the C of bar 18 becoming an E to lead to it; but this did not find favour. When he broke off at a call from his house he seemed to have settled down to the form: A major, 4/4, A:–:–:A | *g*:–:A:–: | *f*:–:A:–: | *e*:–:–:– | C:–:A:–: | D:–:D:–: | E:D:C:B | A:–:–:– | repeat these eight bars, then C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | and finally again repeat the first eight bars.

(7) Examples were also collected from secular songs (though the demarcation is not strict, "Geneviève," "Annie Laurie," and "Loch Lomond" all ranking as hymn-tunes). A singing competition for schools set "Auld Lang Syne" as one of

533 177 the test-pieces; many variants were heard, especially of the ending, when small boys sang the tune for fun after the competition: C:–,*a*:*a*:*b* | C:–:–, C:–,*a*:*g*:*b* | C:–:–, and especially C:–,C:*a*:*b* | C:–:– were the commonest, showing the preference for passing-notes.

(8) One variant recorded is too amusing to omit, although it does not illustrate any of the points under discussion: C major, 4/4, x:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:ED | D:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:–:–. The tune asked for was "Annie Laurie": the obvious title for the variant is "Swannee Laurie." (Has it been suggested that Stephen Foster had the Scottish tune at the back of his mind when writing "Old Folks at Home"?)

533 177 171 (9) It is not suggested that the above characteristics—passing-notes, repetitions, the avoidance of accidentals—are typically "Trinesian." On the contrary, they might be expected wherever foreign music is introduced to a people not making full use of musical notation. One feature, however, which may prove to be typical of the musical idiom of "Trinesia" is the dislike of the common "Western" ending in keynote-semitone down-keynote, CBC for example; and a preference for a "level" ending, CCC. (This has of course nothing to do with the frequent repetition of the keynote *after* the Western melody is ended, on an unaccented beat of the bar, to allow for the fact that many words are accented on the penultimate syllable. Thus, where a Western melody may end, in a four-beat bar, with E:D:C:–, it may be necessary when singing indigenous words to make it E:D:C:C. Nor, of course, is it implied that the "level" ending is unknown in Western music, though it is there to be found chiefly in folk-songs, and not very frequently.)

171 In the Torres Strait (see the Bibliography) examples were collected where the CBC ending was deliberately levelled; examples from Fiji are included in another paper now in the press. Other examples are to be found in Andersen (see the Bibliography) for New Zealand and the South Pacific generally, on pages 114, 115, 117, 118, 159, 378, etc. The frequency of the CBC type of ending in the West, especially in church music, can be realized from the fact that random samplings of the first hundred hymn tunes in the Methodist Hymnbook gave more than one in every five with this ending, and of the first hundred chants, more than one in every three.

533 177 171 The Tongan musical tradition does not seem to be sufficiently strong to make such radical changes as in the Torres Strait, but there is a definite tendency to avoid the "Western" ending. For example, see the sub-variant in section (6) above; or the end of Dykes' "St. Bees" ("Hark, my soul"), where A:G:A:– is replaced by AG:FG:A, the G and F being of course sharps. Many other examples could be given; there seems to be a probability that the preferred alternative may prove to be the descending scale, as in the sub-variant mentioned, with which compare the Maori *hianga*-slide leading to a "level" ending; but sufficient material is not as yet available for this to be more than a suggestion.

The best examples of the " level " ending in Tongan music are to be found in the popular tunes, which, although in many cases deriving from Western originals, have been so adapted to the local taste that these originals cannot now be identified, or only doubtfully. As Caillot writes: " No European tune can pass the lips of a Tahitian, for example, without being at once so changed in nature, transformed to such an extent as to become unrecognizable except by a musician " ; and, it might be added, not always by him. When Thomson was in Tonga, such originals were chiefly " Wesleyan hymns, military-band marches and Mozart's ' Twelfth Mass ' " ; to-day they are hymns, film tunes and Handel's " Messiah." 533 177 [171]

One such popular tune is " Tui Lavoni " (the name of a ship). This, as played to me by one of the real musicians of the island, has the " Western " ending: F major, 4/4, x:x:x:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AG:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AF:GG:F*e* | F:–:–. On the other hand, as sung for me by small boys it has the " level " ending: AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CA:FF:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:DD | CA:FF:GA:FF | F:F:–.

(10) Another popular tune which presents points of interest is " Tau mai ya " (" Would that I," a love song). Many versions of this were noted: two are given here. The first as it was first recorded: F major, 4/4, FG | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–:*c*F | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–. The second in a more repetitious, and apparently more popular form: *c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:x:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–. It seems probable that the second is a development of the first; if so, a Western original for the first version has perhaps been identified, and it may amuse readers to attempt to detect this (somewhat unexpected) original before reading the postscript to this paper.

It will be noted that both versions show the " level " ending very markedly.

[(11) It should, however, be added that, in two variants collected in Samoa, far from any dislike of the " Western " ending appearing, this was actually substituted for a descending scale of the FEDC type, in one case at the end of a repeated phrase, in the other at the end of the tune itself. The former is Hughes' " Cwm Rhondda " (" Guide me "), where the second and fourth lines normally end in C | B:A:G:–, but Samoa prefers the ending CA | G:F:G:–, perhaps by infection from the end of the tune. The second is the 1775 Songbook " Hursley " (" Sun of my soul "), where the original ending is D:D:D | C:–:A | B:A:G | F:–:–} but Samoa prefers D:D:C | B:F:A | G:F:*e* | F:–:–. However, much more material would be necessary before stating that the usual " Trinesian " preference for the level ending is absent, or weak, in Samoa.] 171

(12) As an experiment to test aural memory, the simple folk-tune " There's a hole in my bucket " was sung some twelve times to a class of about 20 boys aged from eight to fourteen. After ten days no one had enough idea of the tune to attempt it; it was again repeated some twelve times, but after another week only one boy earned the sixpence promised for a recognizable version, curiously condensing the tune into five notes instead of the original six, and levelling the ending: C major, 3/4, 125 533 177

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

125 c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should
however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless
533 tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most "Trinesians," so that the test was hardly
177 a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more
[171] successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing
533 strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were "boating-songs,
177 odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured
subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own: very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, "A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in quality and range; one bass complained to me that he could sing "only" two octaves really well, from middle C down; another happily produced *four* octaves, from A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure
[534] falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being
pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses; there are, Heaven be praised, no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another "progress" threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the "correct" tunes and harmonies; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

Postscript.—The suspected original for the first tune to "Tau mai ya" is the plainsong "Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 ("In exitu Israel") only, and
[795] adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church
on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at most it could be heard once a month only.

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Famous Maori Songs. (Beggs, Auckland 1940.) The accompaniments are purely Western, and there is a strong Western Influence in the melodies, but some "level" endings occur, and several with the descending scale.

Burrows, E. G.: *Native Music of the Tuamotus* (Bishop Museum Bulletin 109), Honolulu 1933; and "Songs of Uvea and Futuna," *op. cit.* 183, Honolulu 1945. Of exceptional value in that not only are primitive tunes given but also "hybrids" showing Western influence.

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally 565
supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, 178
influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly 565
criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society
that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The 178
tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 829
1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations 185
with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and 565
conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and
activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally.
As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European [171]
societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary
nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a
degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating
changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined 565
by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the 428
social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble
title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose 121
of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and
to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility
in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and 114
activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a 131
total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International
Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest
of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are 361
clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including
the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital
of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small
islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing 161
population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land
shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, 178
have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from 166
the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration 167
abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan
economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by 433
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433
241 village- and town-dwelling small-holding farmers of a variety of root crops for subsistence and of copra and bananas for cash.[3]

643 The pre-contact Tongan political and social system was a highly stratified
565 kingship, which was an extreme case of the hierarchical social organization for
175 which Polynesia has been culturally typed (see Gifford, 1929; Goldman, 1970;
171 Sahlins, 1958). The pre-contact sacred kingship of the Tu'i Tonga had been
177 increasingly challenged by the political competition among ruling chiefs for
797 over two centuries, when Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in 1826, began a
process of thorough westernization of indigenous institutions. Enthusiastically
643 accepting Christianity and the advantages of western ideas of law, government,
178 and education, the powerful chiefly leader, Tāufa'āhau,[4] as the Christian king
George Tupou I, united the islands under a constitutional monarchy and a
178 strong Wesleyan church organization. Although later a British protectorate
177 (1900-1970), Tonga was the only polity in Polynesia to maintain indigenous
642 sovereignty and remains the only surviving Polynesian kingship.[5]

[648] The institutional and legal framework for the new order has remained
[170] virtually intact during the reigns of the four monarchs of the Tupou dynasty
(Tupou I, 1875-1893; Tupou II, 1893-1918; Queen Sālote, 1918-1965; and Tupou IV, 1965-). The major pre-contact social and political institutions were replaced by a monarchical state (with the kingship defined as part of the conventional executive, legislative, and judicial branches of western government)
177 and Christian church organizations. On the other hand, a number of indigenous
customs and values were assimilated to the innovations and persisted, particularly
178 in the important everyday-life contexts of kin relations and of the production and exchange of traditional foodstuffs and goods such as barkcloth and mats. This early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated Tongan culture with a version of European culture, remained isolated during the early twentieth century as a neo-traditional or compromise culture and is only now being challenged by increasing political and economic contacts with other regional and world nations.

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[3] The following are major sources on recent Tongan demography and economics: Bollard (1974), deBres (1974), Maude (1965, 1971), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964). The following are sources on modern Tongan society and culture: Aoyagi (1966); Beaglehole (1941), Kaeppler (1971), Korn (1974) Marcus (1975a, 1975b), Morton (1972), and Rogers (1968, 1975).

[175] [4] There were actually three kingships in Tonga in the century before the Constitution. In the 15th century, the 24th incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status, thus initiating a collateral line of kings called the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one of his sons, thus creating a second line of major societal chiefs or kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, collateral to the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship. Tāufa'āhau was the 19th Tu'i Kanokupolu.

[5] Major secondary sources on Tonga's transformation and recent history are Lātūkefu (1974); Rutherford (1971), and Wood (1932, 1975).

565 178 [643] are aristocrats by the modern application of the old principle that true chiefs are close blood kinsmen (*sino'i 'eiki*) of the King (previously the Tu'i Tonga, but now the Tupou Kings). Secondly, title-holders who are not closely related to the King or to one of the aristocratic nobles are the gentry nobility that was [558] mentioned. In the current situation, the gentry nobles are left to their own fortunes, which means that without *sino'i 'eiki* blood connections established through marriage or high government position, controlled from the centre, they 565 178 643 decline in respectability and image among the people. Finally, certain key titles of old Tonga, which were associated with regional, independent chiefs of considerable power, have become vacant and may be resurrected by the monarch according to his wishes. It is generally believed that younger male children of the King may be appointed to the more prestigious of these vacant titles.[7]

565 178 [171] Before the Tupou era, *'eiki* honour was closely guarded, promoted, and at least partially defined by the major chiefly kin groups themselves, much as kin groups at various levels control the appointment and manipulate the status of chiefly titles in modern Samoa. With the implementation of the noble title system, *'eiki* honour became a monopoly and a prerogative (in the control of title and estate location) of the centre in the process of consolidating the surviving chiefly system. In contemporary Tonga, the process of refining the century-long consolidation begun by Tupou I continues.

Succession to Hereditary Titles and Estates

565 175 611 428 [178] In pre-Constitutional Tonga, succession to positions of authority and titled office was patrilineally determined, based on seniority in lineality and age, and applied to all units of social organization from the domestic group headed by the *tamai* ('father'), to the local descent group headed by the *'ulu motu'a* ('elder head'), to the Kingship itself. It is worth emphasizing that patrilineality was a predominant trend, specifically in succession to positions of authority throughout the traditional polity, but it in no way had the force of law that it now has. In the traditional order, direct patrilineal succession was always contingent upon variations in personality, ability, and relative conditions of power and authority among related kin groups.

Eldest brother-younger brother succession was frequent, and some say, a preferred path of traditional succession to chiefly position. Younger brother

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[7] Of the 33 noble titles, five are currently vacant and two are held jointly by a single holder, making a current total of 27 noble title-holders. Of these, three titles are held within the Royal Family. Of the remaining 24 title-holders, I estimate that five are clearly of *sino'i 'eiki* or aristocratic status, marked by their close kinship with the dynastic line, in turn developed through intermarriages of their respective lines during two or more past generations with the dynastic line. These aristocratic nobles hold important government positions. The remaining 19 noble title-holders are gentry, some recognized kinsmen of the aristocrats and the King, some totally without such relationships. The six *matāpule* estate-holders might be classed with the gentry nobility. One *matāpule* title is held jointly by a gentry noble title-holder, and one *matāpule* title-holder holds high government office.

641

succession was just as appropriate and permanent as eldest son succession, 428
manifesting the pre-Constitutional tension between the two alternative kin 423
positions that were both common successors to titles of deceased holders. 565

Through a set of ordered priorities the succession law defines a discrete 671
and exclusive kin position to hold hereditary lands and titled honour associated
with them. This formalization of customary succession had important effects on 565
relationships within the kin groups of noble title-holders. The exclusive
definition of the nobility in terms of individuals created a basic ambiguity and 641
tension within modern noble families regarding the limits of the distribution 428
of noble titles as a resource among kinsmen both in terms of chiefly honour and 178
wealth. Presumably, in pre-Constitutional Tonga, titles were held by individuals 602
according to customary rules of succession similar to the present laws, but it 671
was chiefly honour and leadership responsibility, not primarily land as such,
that was the 'thing' held and transmitted. Furthermore, chiefly honour was [423]
clearly a kin group resource, merely focussed or represented in the title. The
final arbiter of succession, given customary patrilineal practice, was some [611]
process of decision-making among the kin group members. The institution of
strict legal procedures governing succession removed the final determination of
succession from within the chiefly kindred as well as made problematic the
extent to which noble status could be claimed beyond the legally determined
title-holder and his heir.

NOBLE TITLE SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The Context and Conditions of Succession Disputes 671

In line with the positive, if not enthusiastic, moves toward modernization, 178
embodied in the nineteenth-century reforms, Tongan law makes no mention of or 565
allowance for customary practices (except in one case which will be discussed
below). In a sense, law as the vehicle of transformation was intended to be a
virtual replacement for customary practices. Thus surviving customary practice
has a shadowy existence outside the law without explicit indications as to
what the orientation of law toward surviving custom should be. The status of 671
Tongan law in relation to custom is in marked contrast, for example, to the
situation in neighbouring Western Samoa. There, the orientation of law to 171
custom, especially chiefly custom, is explicit: custom is neither defined nor 565
codified but is is clearly provided for as the standard governing certain practices.
For example, the Land and Titles Court in Western Samoa is a constitutionally
sanctioned but customary institution through which disputes to chiefly titles
and lands (the *matai* system) are adjudicated according to interpretation of
uncodified customary practice.

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In Tonga, disputes concerning lands and titles are the area of law most 423
likely to raise issues of customary practice. However, since the present land 428
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The custom, which was an underlying issue in the first Vakalā case, 671
eventually came to be explicitly argued in a number of later cases, and was 565
finally codified in the 1953 Constitutional amendment (to Clause 111 on 597
succession), concerned traditional adoption practices among chiefly kin groups.
Adoption is the only example of the codification of custom in Tongan law.
Codification occurred as a direct result of the continued appearance of an
adoption issue in succession disputes. Adoption was and is a major feature 597
of, not only Tongan, but Polynesian social organization in general. It is not [171]
intended to discuss adoption as such here, other than to trace how it developed 597
as an issue in the title succession cases and finally to evaluate its significance 128
for the Vakalā case. The facts of the Vakalā case are summarized below.

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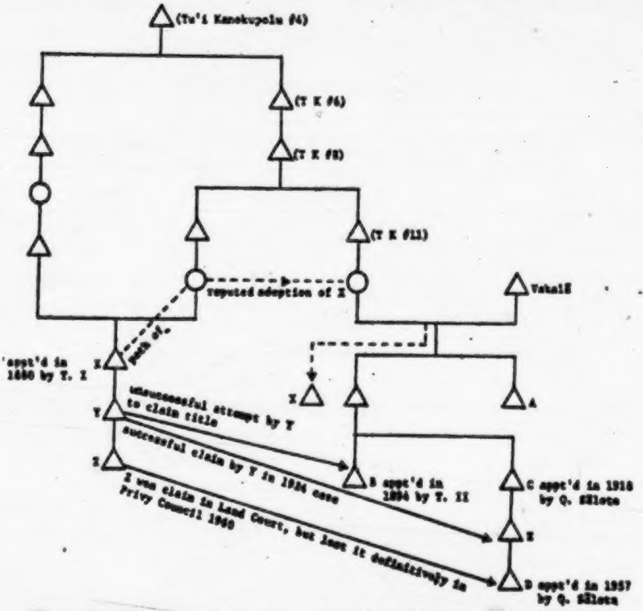
(Tu'i Kanokupolu #4)
(T K #6)
(T K #8)
(T K #11)
reputed adoption of X
Vakalā
path of
appt'd in 1880 by T. I
X
Y
Z
unsuccessful attempt by Y to claim title
successful claim by Y in 1924 case
Z won claim in Land Court, but lost it definitively in Privy Council 1960
X
A
B appt'd in 1894 by T. II
C appt'd in 1918 by Q. Sālote
E
D appt'd in 1957 by Q. Sālote

Figure 1—Genealogical background of the Vakalā succession disputes.

In his 1880 appointments, Tupou I not only elevated the status of the 565
matāpule title Vakalā to the level of nobility; he also appointed a man, X, to
the title who had gained renown as a warrior (*to'a*) and leader in support of [643]
Tupou I during his brief wars of unification, but who in retrospect had no
blood connection with the previous descent line of Vakalā (see Fig. 1).
Presumably, X's successors were to be the permanent line holding the Vakalā [428]

565 forces generated through Tupou's reforms. Formal respects vested in titled
571 office itself are not affected by or sensitive to this infiltration, which is reflected
178 in the diverse degrees of *sino'i 'eiki* and informal chiefly status attribution
554 among the individuals who enjoy the rewards and legal privileges of holding
noble office. Although there is this diversity among title-holders concerning the degree to which any particular individual title-holder can be considered personally of aristocratic status, the succession cases have nonetheless served to instill generally the impression of inherent sameness or homogeneity with the rest of the population of those occupying positions within a sector of privilege that Tupou had provisionally exempted from his levelling reforms.

565 The concept of chiefly honour survives in Tonga in a much more elaborate
554 form than, for example, in Samoa. There, the core of chiefly honour is the
● 171 *matai* title, which defines an effective leadership position or office that is still
presumably controlled in appointment within its associated kin group. In Tonga,
565 the chiefly status of the title is undercut by the more authentically valued *'eiki*
565 honour derived from aristocratic blood descent. Squeezed between a surviving
554 "purer" criterion of aristocratic honour on one side and the disappearance of
178 effective chiefly authority on the other, noble title honour and resources in
[571] themselves have become a special prize of limited access within the overall
structure of new opportunities for social mobility among a homogeneously organized population of independent family units. The succession cases are an important manifestation of the inclusion of at least the gentry nobility within the westernizing trends of the post-1875 compromise culture in Tonga.

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241 traditional plants and trees to recent introductions. This
178 is already evident in the increasing importance of manioc,
American taro, and sweet potato as well as in the increasing
cultivation of peanuts, watermelons, pineapples, garden
278 vegetables, and improved banana clones. Although still of
824 widespread importance, the use of traditional folk medicine
[178] is gradually giving way to an increasing acceptance of
modern medicine. Consequently, the great range of plants
and trees used for this purpose may become more expendable.
824 A similar trend exists for trees once valuable for scenting
178 coconut oil, cordage, dyes, soap substitutes, and fish
poisons.

241 An even more pronounced trend, is the replacement of
137 native secondary vegetation by exotic species due to the
178 continual reduction in the duration of fallow periods. The
native forests have had insufficient time to re-establish
themselves and the more hardy introduced pioneer species
are now the dominant vegetation on almost all fallow land
241 on Tongatapu. This rapid expansion of weedy vegetation is
a major problem limiting agricultural production. In
addition to their inferior ability to store soil nutrients,
their removal often constitutes a very high labor input,
and in some cases, because of their increasing occurrence
after the extension of cropping periods, cultivators are
[171] often forced to shift to new plots. Watters (1958:344)
found this the case in Samoa, where, after three successive

241 crops of taro, gardens were often abandoned owing to
171 decreasing yields and an increase in weeds or secondary
241 vegetation. _Cyperus_ _rotundus_, for example, is a particularly
137 serious problem on Tongatapu, where gardens with
vegetables such as tomatoes, lettuce, corn, and cucumbers
are difficult to maintain and are often abandoned due to
241 excessive labour required to control this weed. There are
numerous other noxious weeds which are detrimental to
agricultural production and are the focus of control
programs.

241 In short, these trends seem to indicate that the
178 native vegetation of Tongatapu and the traditional crop
137 associations of the Tongan bush-fallow agricultural system
are undergoing rapid change and in some cases are in danger
[179] of extinction. This seems to be happening with little or
no consideration being given by developmental planners
to the considerable cultural and ecological importance
of these plants.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, 797
Norman Goodall, added —

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(8)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate [212]
when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education,
even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents [873]
in England were receiving it, and girls were gaining a good education under [171]
mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(9) Further- [874]
more, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable
the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact
with the outside world.

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased.
On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional: [871]
that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time)
has done this without any government subsidy whatever. [658]

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and strong impact of secularism upon island communities, with the need for stressing the social implications of the Gospel. 797

Were the 19th Century conversions genuine? Although the missionaries were often prone to be over-optimistic about their successes, their diaries show that they were not deceived but could differentiate between the genuine and the insincere. Moreover, impressive cases like Elijah Varani in Fiji, Joel Bulu and John Faupula in Fiji and Tonga, were not exceptional. Men and women did not die, as many did, particularly in Fiji, for a faith they had not genuinely accepted nor would they avow a Christian faith before their chiefs did, unless they were sincere.

The dangers of the early missionaries in Fiji were mitigated by the measure 000 of protection given by visiting warships. Hostile Fijians must have felt an apprehension of possible reprisals from warships for any attacks that they made on a mission staff. There was, incidentally, no such protection for the indigenous teachers and their converts who were often exposed to the assaults of their non-Christian neighbours. Where visiting warships were of most value was in the personal advocacy of Christianity by the captains who, in the case of Fiji, also urged the chiefs to abandon cannibalism, the strangling of widows, and other barbaric customs.

Relationships with governing European powers in Pacific Islands groups in 797 the 19th Century were generally friendly, and missionaries owed much to the sympathetic support of governors, consuls and other representatives of European nations. With the decline in the influence of organized Christianity in the 20th Century, later missionaries have had to depend upon themselves and their home Churches; and this has ultimately been all to the good.

The Pacific Islands were outside the main stream of world affairs until recent years when, with rapid communication and transport, they have been brought into the global community and also affected by new currents of thought. Missionary policy has recognized the people's growing material needs and the effect of rapid social change and urbanization.

The islanders have always been acute judges of white men, missionaries included. Today they see clearly the hollowness of much of Western civilization. Europeans are far more guilty than unregenerate barbarians because of their devilish modern weapons of war, their commercialized vice and gambling, and, in many cases, their disregard for human welfare. Especially since World War II nothing in "our dissolving society" (Rupp) has been hidden from the eyes of the people of the islands.

From the early years onwards missionaries realized the importance of training the best of the converts as ministers and teachers. There is now an indigenous minister at the head of all Methodist Conferences, and those Churches where Methodists have united with other denominations. European missionaries remain as "fraternal workers", collaborating with their indigenous colleagues, retaining some responsibility especially in education, but willingly giving over the control that their European predecessors exercised. It is opportune that the island Churches have developed their own leaders concurrently with the emergence of a new social and political order in the Pacific.

The sad experience of Tonga, with the delay in giving self-government to [171] its Church, has not been repeated elsewhere. The Churches in Fiji and Samoa 000

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods [643]
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants [644]
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their [787]
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as [171]
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266 847
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 188
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 888
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 858
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 266

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with
Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall
ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened
first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan
Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching
for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of
the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with
about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the
outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe
to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on
either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves
and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships'
boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels
were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked
the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent
visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were
killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy
introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

[1845-1851]

warship would come to support them. Thomas West, the missionary, stated that, 797
soon after George's election as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, the priests 669

> "began, at first secretly, and then openly, to undermine and deny his authority". (36)

After agreeing to the election, Ma'afu (son of the old blind chief of the 1840 643
period), Lavaka and Vaea began to oppose the king. They did this by harbouring 668
men who had broken the king's laws and, even more defiantly, by rebuilding the
forts of Houma and Pea in clear breach of the undertaking which all parties had
given upon Tupou's accession in 1845. The king had demolished the fort at
Nuku'alofa on Zion or Mission Hill, as a proof of his own peaceful policy.

After 1845 the king removed to Lifuka, staying there, except for short periods, until 1851. He left Ma'afu and Lavaka responsible for peace and order in Tongatapu, seemingly testing their loyalty. When he visited Tongatapu in 1850 after the re-fortifying of Houma and Pea, the chiefs denied any intention of open rebellion. Accepting their word, the king took no steps against them, except to appoint a new governor, Haumono Mafile'o, before returning to Ha'apai.

The king's feelings were shown in 1850 when he went to Mu'a and held a 643
public assembly. In this he directly charged the priests with supporting his 668
opponents. To Father Chevron he said, "The rebellion is with you", and, when 797
this was denied, he went on,

> "You cannot get out of this; and let me tell you we are not now afraid of French men-of-war; . . . We are not to be rebelled against and have divisions sowed among us. You must behave like a Christian man or I will send you out of the land." (37)

The tension of the period, with mixed political and religious elements, could 797
be found in an incident in 1850. Uvea (Wallis Island), north of Samoa, was one 798
of the worst examples of sectarian strife in the Pacific. It had first received 171
Wesleyan converts from Niua Toputapu and then Tongan teachers, left there by
visiting Wesleyan missionaries. Before long, French priests arrived and began a
Mission which grew steadily. Under the form of religious rivalry, old tribal quarrels
broke out fiercely on the island. In 1850 two American vessels with 500 people 797
from Uvea arrived at Vava'u. Whether all, or even some, had been expelled is 798
not clear but all wanted to leave an island that was plunged in civil war. The 500
refugees were taken away on the understanding that they would work for the
American ship-owners on plantations on Fanning Island, north-central Pacific.
On reaching Vava'u they deserted the vessels and sought permission to remain
ashore. The Americans, naturally, felt that they had been tricked.

Bishop Bataillon, successor to Bishop Pompallier, called on King George
at Nuku'alofa to explain that the Uveans had not been persecuted and had not
left Uvea for that reason. Tupou took the opportunity of telling the Bishop that 797
many Roman Catholics in Tongatapu were disputing his lawful rule. In reply, 798
the Bishop charged the king with not allowing Roman Catholics freedom of 643
worship; the king denied this and added that Wesleyan preachers were not allowed
to hold services at Pea. (38)

The king himself, however, was not consistent. In 1851, when a Tongan chief, Sovea, who had been converted to Roman Catholicism in Fiji, returned to his own land, together with a French lay brother, with the intention of building a church in Nuku'alofa, he was forbidden to do this by Tupou. Although the king stated that Sovea had entered surreptitiously into the community and he was annoyed for this reason, his prohibition of building a Roman Catholic church was

457 654 not know enough of their own culture and history (or at least the aspects of touristic interest), so the TVB published a pamphlet for local distribution to remedy this particular complaint. The government has also built small airstrips to encourage tourist travel to outlying islands and has allocated substantial sums of money for hotel expansion and construction. 457 648 654 177 [643] [484] With the help of overseas (primarily Australian) backing, new hotels have been recently constructed on Tongatapu and Vava'u. Japanese companies have also expressed an interest in joint investment with the Tongan government, in facilities that would serve the public and *especially* entice the now almost nonexistent Japanese traveler to Tonga. With Japan in mind, the Tongan monarch traveled to Japan, exchange clubs have been established. Tongans have been encouraged to visit Japan. Late in 1976 the Japan/Tonga Friendship Fellowship opened a US$35,000 resort clubhouse in Tonga, in an effort to develop growing contacts and increase guests to Tonga. His Majesty also visited Hawaii in late 1976 to assess the role of tourism, as well as the role of Tongans in tourism at the Polynesian Cultural Center (see chapter 14).

457 439 262 Tourism, however, increases the economic problems—especially the need for additional imported foodstuffs. Air passengers, for whom facilities are largely being constructed, have to be fed, and although many enjoy the local fruits and bread (made from the imported flour), few would be content for long on the relatively bland Tongan diet of yams, taro, and fruit. Tongans are, in effect, competing with the tourists for the [435] [171] imported foods. The ever-increasing quantities of food that must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists contributes to the steadily rising CPI. A similar situation prevails in Fiji, as Ward (1976, p. 171) notes:

> Some [Fiji] hotels, in the interest of greater economy and convenience, only provide a strictly limited choice of meals and the sort of meals which tourists expect to receive in their home countries, e.g. of the steak-hamburger-mixed grill variety. Many hotels argue that this is all the tourist wants although the best hotels do provide more extensive menus. The majority [of hotels, however] do provide the food which is produced and consumed by the local inhabitants and this compounds the problem of buying requirements from domestic producers.

Ward also states that despite the availability of many local foodstuffs tourists might consume, hotels in Fiji prefer to purchase their requirements overseas because, it has been argued, "they can only then be assured of continuity in supplies and of a consistent high standard of quality."

457 Tourism has grown rapidly in Tonga, but it could evaporate just as quickly. Tongans occasionally have experienced situations when the anticipated tourists failed to arrive. In 1972, at least forty tour groups cancelled their planned air visits to Tongatapu because the tour operators

applied, of these the Tuitonga stood first, then the Tamaha, and nex: the 175
Hau or civil ruler."(17)

The difference in the rankings given by Lawry and Thomas is because 643
there were Tamahā before there were the civil rulers known as the Tu'i 554
Ha'a Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. 644

The rank and status associated with the individual known as the
Tamahā were indeed very high, contrary to what Kaeppler has to say based 644
on 20th century projections as to how aboriginal Tonga functioned.(18)
The French navigator Dumont d'Urville was astute in his observations
of Tongan life, and observing the Tamahā in 1827 he wrote: " . . . all the 644
people of Tonga, without exception, even the touï-tonga and the touï- 576
Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, which
she was not obliged to honour anyone in this way."(19)

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show
to a superior. The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he 644
wrote that "the Tamahā is the greatest personage in the whole group of
islands".(20) Where the Tu'i Tonga was the representative of the gods, the [643]
Tamahā was virtually viewed as a god on earth.

Aboriginal Tongans developed a system of rank (based on kinship ties) [776]
and status (based on achievements) which made Tongan society an
integrated whole. Tonga was a rank-conscious society, with rank being 554
"relative" to those individuals gathered for a specific occasion. The model
of Tongan society was that of a stratified one and, as such, redistribution
systems developed (as in other parts of Polynesia) with the ranking
individuals being the focal points of the system. In Tonga, this was the [643]
Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of Tonga'.

With the introduction of various Western material goods into the 177
stratified society, some individual Tongan chiefs soon sought to consolidate
and improve their positions of "authority" in the islands. With the [661]
introduction of Western technological devices, particularly metal tools,
which are obviously a labour-saving device, Tongans inevitably had more
free time on their hands as European contact increased. Perhaps it was [669]
such free time, along with the eventual concentration of European weapons
in the hands of a few individuals, which eventually contributed to the
increased amounts of Tongan warfare in the 19th century. The role played [648]
by material goods in the process of 19th century colonisation was an
extremely important one, and Shineberg's comments in reference to 177
Melanesian society are perfectly applicable for Tongan society.

> The entry of European goods was the thin edge of the wedge into 171
> their society. It was not long before the new things became necessities instead of luxuries, and the people [became] dependent upon a supply of western axes, muskets, and tobacco. It is well to remain aware, however, that the impetus for change came as much from within traditional society as without it.(21)

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17. Thomas n.d. MS:1.
18. Kaeppler 1971:183.
19. Dumont-D'Urville n.d.:27.
20. Webb 1843: entry for Mar. 1, 1843.
21. Shineberg 1966:146.

181 461 [171] /26 cont./

35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

181 461 177 178 Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various observers partly as industrious, (36)

36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte... /History/. loc, cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.

partly as inactive and lazy (37)

[113] 37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit. XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a private journal" /cited in English/ in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. vol. III. London 1834. p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of dute." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

304 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of
531 which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is,
all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)
including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part
only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and
sometimes on the legs, (169)
304 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was
[554] generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men
[626] would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women.
(463) Usually special experts carried out the process when the person
(413) reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the
(237) wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from
[386] Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick
and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into
the skin. (170)

304 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over
171 from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost
178 entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few
old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are
Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in
Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

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167. Cf. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

168. Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

527 /99 cont./

177 (621) return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
(533) go about in the same way.

(431) It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
(533) the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
(621) old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

(797) Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
(178) in this custom, (274)

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
● (171) perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/99 cont./

276
[171) and Fiji, for example, where this custom has also been preserved.
Kava is, without reservation, the essential element of community life
in Tonga.

[249) Kava (Piper methysticum) is still planted on all Tongan islands
(438) However, on a few it is scarce (as a result of reduced planting, too
great consumption or destruction by pits), and the kava roots are
obtained from other islands of the Archipelago, often by the bag, at
five £T a bag (approximately 47 German marks), or are bought by the
piece in (retail) shops in the village. When people want to drink
kava they take a few roots and go to a house in the village that
seems appropriate (with regard to owner and space) and ask if kava
might be made. Or, if one or several friends happen to be in a person's
house, its preparation is immediately begun, generally /100/
by a young girl (or a woman), more seldom by a man. This girl pounds
the root between stones (maka toto lalo and maka toka 'olunga) over
a mat (fala tuki kava) and pours the coarse flour thus obtained into
the kava bowl (kumete kava). The bowl is the most important piece
[415) of property of every household; it is artistically carved out of a
(322) block of wood and has a diameter up to one meter and four to sixteen
[439) /sic/ feet. Many of these bowls come from Fiji, but they are also
made in Tonga on most of the islands, chiefly on 'Eua. As needed
[415) (depending on the quantity of kava meal), water dipped from a zinc
bucket standing in readiness is ladled out with a coconut shell
(ipu kava) and poured onto the meal in the bowl. The meal is kneaded
in the water. Then with a bundle of bast (fau tau kava) (from fau =
Hibiscus tiliaceus) they take the remnants of kava out of the liquid,
wring out the bundle with a firm grip over the bowl and shake the
squeezed-out residue (which, after drying, is sometimes used a
second time) onto the mat. With the bast bundle a portion of the
now finished kava drink is taken out of the bowl and the coconut cup

621 554 /106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church
178 services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given
[793] an important position in the village community. They may be followed
[875] in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young
[759] the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical practitioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art
of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills
in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But
there is also many a Tongan who does not hold an office yet plays an
influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his
work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he
can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater
respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers
[888] and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen
to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially
vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a
kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones.
621 Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops
554 in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods
441 in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that
178 is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the
●[171] merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will
be respected accordingly. (297)

[875] 297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality

/140 cont./

283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably
generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and
only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated
method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko
leaves) (373)

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold--and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks.
[171] Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber
bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally
still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees
greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and
[462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do
[574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava
[276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they
were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa
in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay
in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan
[461] style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters
of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this
way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of
kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they
finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they
persist in plaiting their quota every day.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[824] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

/246 cont./

775 787 relatives and also to other human beings. (655)

655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

775 776 The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks) were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

[171] 656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'aroa (Kanaloa), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

[787] [778] They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

[787] /247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

776 784 The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner) (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/247 cont./

776 annoying ills and troubles of everyday life, quite in contrast to the
784 high gods who caused great misfortune to come to human beings as punishment for their crimes.

784 The Polynesian conception of taboo included prohibition, avoidance
[171] and abstention (659)

659. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. p. 73.

was effective in religious, social and economic life. In ancient Tonga the "tapu" was the most important controlling power. One may distinguish between a "permanent tapu," which, for example, applied to sanctuaries, chiefs and those of higher rank in general, and a "temporary tapu," (660)

660. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 231 f.;
E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 342.

which chiefs, and priests as well, could inflict (at the command of their respective gods) and could also revoke. (661)

661. For instance, in the case of field products because of a forthcoming festival or an anticipated period of shortage.

Willful violation of a taboo, according to Tongan belief, was punished by the gods with death, while unconscious violation could be revoked by elaborate ceremonies.

776 In Tonga there was a general belief that all life and well-being
784 was absolutely dependent on the gods, and that sickness and misery
771 were divine punishments for the neglect of religious duties or for other offences and crimes, especially since, in the view of these natives, everything was paid for on this earth and there were no punishments in the life beyond. (662)

662. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 107.

771 Aside from a few large and recurring acts of worship, (663)

[651] 663. For example, the 'inasi, namely, the offering of first fruits to the Tu'itonga (see ibid. p. 207 ff.).

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 F 872 177 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. T 871 The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. T F 871 182 While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, T [872] [463] F [571] it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

/312 cont./

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178
[563) Rather, there was a /313/ living-side-by-side (or a living-separate-lives) of whites, Indians (40)

40. The Indians, for example, keep themselves conspicuously apart from the native population.

and Chinese, and the British government sought to preserve, to a certain extent, Fijian interests as against those of all strangers, and moreover, to carry on a "further development of the cultural heritage of the past." [648) Since the once so warlike natives did not offer the colonial government any active resistance, they also did not provoke violent measures on the part of Europeans, and thus a peaceful development was made possible.

177 The Fijians, like the Tongans, were quite capable of taking over aspects of European culture, integrating them into their own culture and adapting them to it, but, like the Tongan natives, they did not succeed in a creative further development of what they took over.

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182 Their ancient physical and psychical independence, that is to say, their ability to master their environment has largely been preserved, as it was for the Tongans, and outside the urban settlements the majority of the people, despite the adoption of all kinds of European ideas and goods, have not come to depend too much on the foreigners, and in case of need they could live also in this colony without foreign products; (41)

● [171) 41. See, for example, B.L. Thompson (Fijian Frontier /cited in English/, p. VIII) on the Lau group of the Fiji Archipelago: "With the slump in the copra market after the war, however, the import of these articles ceased..., and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence." /cited in English/

in such case there would be certain hardships in only a few areas (for example, clothing, metal tools).

F
T /313 cont./

171 A comparison of cultural change in Tonga with the change on the
177 Fiji Islands thus shows a certain similarity of development despite
178 the colonial history of this Archipelago and the great numerical as well as economic and political superiority of the foreigners.

C. In Buganda (Central Africa)

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121 In an attempt to interpret the culture change described in Tonga,
177 a comparison with the culture change resulting from European influences among a non-Oceanic primitive people may also prove useful. As an example I have chosen the Kingdom of Buganda (42)

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[113] 42. Based on L.P. Mair, An African people in the twentieth century. London 1934; H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Uganda 2nd ed. London 1949; H.B. Thomas, The story of Uganda. Oxford 1939; Margaret Trowell and K.P. Wachsmann, Tribal crafts of Uganda. London 1953; Colonial Office, Report of Uganda for the year 1952. London 1953. /all titles cited in English/

on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria, which is likewise a British
G protectorate. The Hamitic pastoral tribes coming from the north /314/
177 in the past also invaded this area inhabited by agricultural Bantu;
144 but here, in contrast to conditions in other African kingdoms formed by Hamitic conquests, there was a widespread fusion of the two population elements in which the Hamitic /element/ was soon absorbed.

G Buganda is today one of the four provinces of the Uganda
642 Protectorate; the kingdom is approximately 64-times larger than the
635 land area of the Tonga Archipelago, and in it live more than 800,000
131 Baganda, (43)

161
162 43. According to the investigation of 1938: 836,091 (Report on Uganda for the year 1952. p. 16).

as well as a smaller group of Indians and relatively few Europeans. (44)

44. According to the count of 1931: 6587 Indians and 1200 Europeans (Thomas and Scott, Uganda p. 502).

/328 cont./

177 178 The harmless course of the cultural change among this people is based on this fact of the combination, the blending of European and Tongan culture traits. Such a union of the old /329/ with the new would not have been possible, however, if Tongan culture had not been so flexible and adaptable, owing to which it was able to take in and incorporate this wealth of important and unimportant parts and complexes of European culture without breaking down or indeed showing disastrous tensions. Not even as a result of the radical changes affecting the rule of the nobility have there been any major conflicts during the last hundred years.

Another important reason for this positive course of Tongan cultural change is the fact that in the final analysis the natives themselves exhibit a positive attitude toward it; on the whole, their new culture, their new life seems to give them complete satisfaction.

[171] The comparisons drawn in the preceding chapter between the Tongan cultural change and that which took place among the Samoans, the Fijians and the Baganda show that the development in Tonga is nothing extraordinary, and that the ability of cultural adaptation that we have observed among the natives of these islands, along with their continuing self-affirmation, is not unique. The foregoing investigations furnish proof that, amidst a very broadly conceived similarity of preconditions, a cultural change that probably sometimes differs in detail, but is nonetheless similar in the totality of its development, can also take place elsewhere.

We see from these comparisons that the apparently so easily alterable external appearance of natives (that is, hairstyle, clothing, as well as adornment) undergoes considerable changes, that other material cultural possessions regarded as impressive

/330 cont./

177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

177
121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically; for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

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181 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

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(113) The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

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61. R. Linton, Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

181 /330 cont./

177 A study in acculturation," American
171 Anthropologist New Series. Vol. 46,
[113] No. 2. Part 2 (Memoir 64) 1944. p. 65.

is probably in part simply /331/ based on rational considerations according to which greater disadvantages than advantages were to be expected from the change, or it may be partly a question of
177 indolence or rigidity. On the whole, however, conservatism here
178 means a feeling of steadfastness in the traditional and habitual
181 because it is one's own to which one is rooted and to which one clings because one draws from it a goodly share of strength, inner security and self-assurance. Why do the Tongan women still subject themselves to the arduous and lengthy process of tapa-making and mat-plaiting? Why, with their relatively high income, do they not instead buy more durable European cloth which they can obtain without too much trouble? Why do they still plait their mats with great care and do not make them in a much simpler and less meticulous way? They probably do this not only because it happens to be their tradition and a taken-for-granted habit and gives them social recognition, but because they consciously or unconsciously feel that their very own way of life is bound up with these things, (62)

62. Many Tongans do not fail to point out proudly to whites who are interested in their way of life and their work what is "faka Tonga" (Tongan way of doing things).

and because they would perhaps be unsure of themselves and feel a certain void if they should break with this tradition and if the floor of their huts and their sleeping places were made only with European material with which they will probably never be able to establish a true inner relationship. Primitive peoples will guard and be able to maintain such an emotional attachment to what is old against the so powerful European influences only if their character

121 these conditions may be found in many parts of the world such as the
islands which dot the oceans. One such microcosmic situation may
be observed in the Kingdom of Tonga, which is located as an island
chain in the Southwest Pacific Ocean. (Note general mapping of
161 Tonga, Figure 4, Appendix A.)[A] Population growth and diminishing
178 agricultural food production, per capita, as a ratio to total popu-
171 lation, are as serious a threat to national stability in Tonga, as
433 in the more publicized nations of the world. (The reader, if not
000 familiar with the more basic geographic considerations regarding
Tonga, may, at this point, wish to review Appendix A.)[B]

161 Even though these conditions exist in Tonga, as well as in
178 other populated island groups, it must be understood that while many
171 of the Pacific islands are now facing a land-population growth cri-
174 sis, only recently have these conditions arisen. Anthropological
data indicate that historically the Pacific Basin is a region of
relatively recent human settlement (Harris 1966, p. 13). In the
case of Polynesia, Tonga, Samoa and the Society Islands formed the
core from which the population of other island groups originated
(Emory 1974, pp. 732-745). The Tongas were settled probably no
174 earlier than 1100 B.C. The significance of this situation is that
167 when religious quarrels, conditions of war, or overpopulation arose,
groups of island people migrated to other islands in, seemingly, an
161 ocean of innumerable islands (Harris 1966, p. 14). However, in the
167 twentieth century, uninhabited island groups are no longer to be
found and since 1945, overpopulation has become a growing force,

A[See Category 102, pp. 160-164--Analyst.]
B[See various 13 Categories, pp. 157-170--Analyst.]

161 with little probability of relief. Such is the case in Tonga at
167 the present.

161 With a population exceeding 95,000 scattered over 288 square
miles, Tonga contains areas of rural population density in excess
171 of 600 per square mile. Coupled with a resource base inadequate
433 for significant industrial development, and an economy which is at
present entirely dependent upon agriculture, Tonga often resembles
171 many nations of the "underdeveloped world." However, because of a
growing relationship with the British Commonwealth, a Western form
of government, and a 95 percent literate population, Tonga
resembles many nations of the "developed world." Characteristics of
both "worlds" are found scattered over the 150 islands that comprise
121 the nation. Therefore, here is a laboratory situation in which to
study the critical issue of population growth and urbanization
versus food production.

161 The Tongan population-agricultural imbalance may be reduced
to a simple statement of conditions. Tongan population growth has
171 in recent years stood at over 3.5 percent per year and is today
[161] among the highest of the Pacific islands. (Other island groups of
the region having had high growth rates include Fiji with 3.5 per-
161 cent, Samoa with 3.8 percent, and Tahiti with 3.6 percent.) Con-
ditions in Tonga, as evidenced by the present population growth
rate, indicate that the present population of 95,000 will more than
double by 1990. News items from Tonga predict that this number will
overwhelm the food production capacity of the land ("There's Not
171 Enough Land . . .," 1967, p. 37). Such conditions are not yet so

171 critical in other Polynesian island groups. In the case of Fiji, the
issue is not one of overpopulation as much as land distribution
among racial elements of the population (Mohan 1961). In Western
Samoa and the Cook Islands, population expansion is drawn off by
migration to New Zealand (Curson 1973). In American Samoa, population
expansion is released to the American West Coast and Hawaii.

167 Tonga, having had a long history of political independence,
has no such outlet for her growing population. Migration has not
played a significant role in the population characteristics of
Tonga in the past several decades. (This refers only to movements
of population out of the national limits of Tonga in a permanent
[166] sense. Internal migration, i.e., rural to urban, is a significant
consideration and will be treated in some depth within this research.)
167 Presently, the only notable migratory trend is in temporary Tongan
464 labor movements to Australia, New Zealand and nearby islands, in
search of employment. The majority of these laborers return to
Tonga within a year and, therefore, do not provide an effective or
464 permanent outlet for Tongan population (Clark 1974). However, of
4[illegible]4 significance is the additional capital and purchasing power enjoyed
by this labor group, upon their return to Tonga.

000 Eliminating the probability of large scale migration, Tonga
is faced with three basic alternatives in the foreseeable future:
(1) establish and maintain a population control program which will
stabilize the expanding population at a level capable of being sustained
by Tongan agriculture and the limited national resource
base; (2) support the growing national population through an

000 expanded agricultural base and a program of commodity imports from nations still producing a food surplus; or (3) approach a level of population at which point natural controls (i.e., malnutrition and/or starvation) set in to bring the population into balance with the supporting capacity of the land.

166 In addition to the basic difficulty of population-food
178 imbalance, Tonga must also contend with the physical shifting of
[369] its population from rural to urban settings, and the economic shift of elements of the population from a traditional subsistence agriculture to a cash economy. Both of these changes in the character of Tongan population tend to aggravate the overall population-food and agricultural imbalance.

369 Rates of urbanization in the entire South Pacific region
171 are among the highest in the world, when considered as a percentage of total population. If one includes the nations of Australia and New Zealand, the peoples of the South Pacific are the most urbanized in the world on a proportional basis (Urban Problems in the South Pacific, 1967, p. 2; Urbanization in the South Pacific, 1962, p. 1). Tonga, since the end of World War II, has seen rapid growth in its capital city, which has nearly tripled in size.

369 This changing characteristic of the population has in
[182] itself had a significant impact on the natural environment of Tonga. In addition, as urbanization continues to expand, social issues including housing, public health, and sanitation grow proportionally.
[312] As in most other island environments in the South Pacific, water for

369 drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance
182 with growing urban population.

178 The process of urbanization has several causes which are
[179] significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s,
[171] the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have
been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments
in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in
178 Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of
166 the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activi-
369 [464] ties and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment
in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly
178 the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement
369 has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also
433 decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed
[241] production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural
population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because of the rate of expansion in Tongan population, total rural population has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and urban population is rapidly expanding.

369 The second important result of urbanization, without con-
178 sidering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance
439 upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967,
p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

161 TABLE 5.--Component Populations of the Kingdom Showing Respective
162 Percentages to Total Population: 1939, 1956, and 1966.

563

Component Population	1939 Census	1956 Census	1966 Census
Tongans	96.28%	97.04%	98.31%
Europeans	1.17	0.40	0.42
Part-Europeans	1.29	1.06	0.66
All Others	1.26	1.41	0.51
	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: S. M. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 17.

563 concentrated within the urban areas. Of this 2 percent non-Tongan
[162] population, nearly 30 percent are of mixed racial composition, the
563 majority of whom are of Tongan and European descent. The signifi-
578 cance of this absence of alien racial elements is the subsequent
171 absence of conflicts of interest between these elements, often evi-
dent in other Pacific island groups (i.e., in Fiji between Fijians
and Indians, and in Tahiti between the Chinese and native Tahitians).

609 The basis for this homogenic feature may, in part, be traced to the civil war period of Tongan history. During this period, evidence indicates an increasing Tongan hostility toward the resident Europeans. The popularized name, "The Friendly Islands," given to Tonga by Cook, became a misnomer as ships and missionaries were attacked. Tales of murder and cannibalism emanated from the voyages of the ships "Duke of Portland" (1802), "Union" (1804),

241
An
245 aerial analysis of Tongatapu, and a subsequent comparison with
171 Western Samoa, revealed a marked difference in planting and cultivation. Portions of Samoa reveal an orderly planting configuration,
241 suggesting more devoted commercial production of coconuts. Tongan
245 farmers, when questioned about the uneven planting, noted that they can produce much larger tuber crop yields if sunlight is not blocked
245 by closely planted palms. However, loosely defined and enforced Tongan laws requiring palm cultivation, plus the desire for a cash income, have motivated an increasing number of Tongans to plant their entire landholding with coconuts.

245 It was noted in such cases that extensive coconut production
241 is accompanied by smaller gardens and less rotation of crops. This
[438] subsequent reduction of tuber food crop yields is compensated by the purchase of foodstuffs in neighboring village or urban areas. In Ha'apai and the more densely settled portions of Tongatapu, an occasional interviewee reported the necessity of planting entire land
[262] holdings in coconuts to insure a cash income. Increasingly, incomes
[439] from cash crops are providing households with diets of imported foodstuffs, replacing those of traditional crops.

The possibility of subsistence crop production in conjunction with coconut planting is largely dismissed by Maude (1970). While coconut yields can be temporarily improved by the occasional clearing of bush for gardens, the burning of the cut vegetation scars the palm and severely reduces production. In addition, once the planting cycle is complete and fallowing begun, vegetation is allowed to grow around the palms unhindered. This growth not only competes

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE TO URBANIZATION

369 Urbanization and its effects are issues confronting all
171 the governments in the Pacific islands. Of the principal Polynesian
cities, only Pago-Pago in Eastern Samoa evidenced a decrease in
urban population between the mid-1960s to 1975, a result of migrations
to Honolulu and San Francisco. The remaining cities of the
region are coping with the increasing numbers of individuals
121 migrating from villages and rural areas. Thus, urbanization, as
defined by the South Pacific Commission and applied to Tonga (see
pages 21-22) must be examined in relation to those factors motivating
population movement from rural to urban centers. A
fallacious assumption examines urban growth as a product of the
city when, in fact, "it must be viewed as stemming from forces
369 working on the whole of society" (Harr'e 1973, p. 11). Urbanization
in Tonga results from both urban and agricultural societal
forces. Although three urban centers in Tonga are recognized,
Nuku'alofa exemplifies the process of urbanization in Tonga and
will be used as a model in the following discussion.

369 The steady and accelerating growth of Nuku'alofa, particularly
162 notable in the past 40 years, has been generally an uninterrupted
161 process. In 1937, the capital contained 4,000 inhabitants.

369 By 1956, this figure had increased to 9,200, and by 1966, to nearly
162
161 16,000 not including surrounding areas. Today, Nuku'alofa,
including the adjoining settlements, contains between 25 and 30
369 thousand persons. This number represents approximately half of the
162 population of Tongatapu and a quarter of the nation's total
population.

369 Nuku'alofa is not unique in these respects as many of the
171 same features of growth are common throughout Polynesia. However,
[166] unlike other Pacific cities, Nuku'alofa is almost totally unprepared
to absorb the continuing flow of 600-1,000 new inhabitants per year.
369 The city lacks strong local government and laws, contains inadequate
[364] water and drainage facilities, refuse collection, and sewage systems,
[464] all necessary for coping with a sizable population. In addition,
there are few opportunities for steady urban employment and,
therefore, many persons are underemployed semi-subsistence agricultural
workers dependent upon the production of others.

369 In these respects, one could justifiably argue that
361 Nuku'alofa is not an urban settlement, in the true sense, but
merely an agglomeration of three agricultural villages (Kolomofo'ou,
[368] Ma'ufanga and Kolomotu'a). The merging of these three villages
into one urban area resulted from the establishment of the royal
seat of power and the Wesleyan church headquarters at this location,
plus the fact that Nuku'alofa was Tonga's first international
369 port. The urban center of Nuku'alofa remains highly agricultural
[368] in nature. The city has acquired few new facilities other than
[166] those usually associated with administration and trade. Three

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest 644
and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowd- 505
ing upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular
sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they 501
came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their
sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind.
They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of dif-
ferent colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest
sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close
together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to
their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their
mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the
centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge 502
of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must
take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the
wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in
the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A
fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broad-
side on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a 764
sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the
last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small 643
trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his 137
palace.*

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill 123
to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes
bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored 505
in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes
were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed
across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies
out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care,
when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to 123
engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made 505
the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay
them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they
ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, how-
ever, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re- 000

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* Casuarina equisetifolia. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree
as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been
brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of [171]
it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives
of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for
the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I re-
marked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the
newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present
Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the
wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound,
which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress
and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.

524 171 Handy records 30 games and sequences from the Marquesas and 25 from the Society Islands. With the 5 figures recorded by me for Tahiti the total for each group is 30.

000 My stay in Samoa was too brief to permit much time being given to this subject. None of the European residents had ever seen or heard of any string games known to the natives. When I discovered that several were common and widely known, the suggestion was made that they had been introduced by Europeans and could not be of ancient date. This view is obviously erroneous for though one of the six Samoan games is known in Europe and two others are common to Samoa, to various other Polynesian islands, and to Melanesia, the methods of working the remaining three are unknown at present outside of Samoa itself. I found that every fisher lad and lass knew one or more of the six games, as did also many of the girls attending the Convent school in Apia, although the Sisters in charge had never been aware of this fact. Considering that all the figures or games were collected within five miles of Apia it is very probable that the fringe only of the subject has been touched. Inquiry in the country districts and in the neighboring islands will assuredly repay richly anyone who is willing to devote time to the subject and who has sufficient sympathy with the villagers to overcome the peculiar reluctance of most natives to acknowledge acquaintance with these games—a reluctance due probably to a fear of ridicule for indulgence in a pastime which they fancy the materialistic white man is apt to consider childish.

524 Tonga is another rich field for study. Here ten distinct figures were obtained, but five of these follow as sequences to others. A large number remain to be found and placed on record and until this has been done no comprehensive comparison of relationship can be made.

524 171 A longer sojourn and specially favorable opportunities in the Fijian archipelago resulted in the collection of 58 figures. As 28 of these represent sequences of a primary figure, there remains a net total of 30 separate and distinct games, the same number as for the Marquesas and for the Society Islands. These numbers have been approached only by Jenness (12) who recorded 48 figures from Goodenough Island in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago.

128 In describing these Fijian figures I do not propose to adopt the classification devised by Handy (10), who uses the terms: stationary figures, progressing figures, sliding figures, figures made by two persons, catches and trick figures, and three dimensioned figures. My chief reason for not following this grouping is that many of the figures partake of the characters of two of the classes mentioned, thus rendering it difficult to locate them satis-

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU[illegible] Tonga OU9

128 factorily and leading to an arbitrary assignment. The figures here described are set down therefore approximately in the order of their complexity when completed, those without known sequent figures preceding those that form a series of figures, whether worked by a single player or by two players. The two divisions thus formed are about equal in constituent numbers.

524 171 Most Fijian string figures are named after some familiar object which they are supposed to represent. There is thus a large animal series including the owl, the crane, the caterpillar, the butterfly, the flying-fox, the fish (*Periophthalmus*), the sting-ray, the turtle, the land-crab, and the snake. The molluscs are represented by a figure vividly suggestive of the opening and shutting of the valves of the giant clam (*Tridacna*). Other figures represent tavola and ivi trees, and the leaves of the screw-pine (*Pandanus*). In a few figures the Fijians see a resemblance to the sun in one form or another, his rays shooting upwards from the horizon at daybreak or in full symmetry when high in the heavens. One figure is named "the star," having four branches which represent rays.

Many familiar objects of daily life and various household articles find representation, for example, a house, a canoe, a fishing net, a mat, a roll of sennit, a basket, a wicker food-platter, a breadfruit cut open and whale's teeth (formerly used as a valuable form of present).

Unlike the games of the Society Islands, those of Fiji have but few geographical allusions; the references are limited to Koro and Wakaia islands and to a point and an island (Undu Point and Koro Island) situated over against one another, separated still further as the tide rises.

Unlike many games in New Zealand, in the Marquesas, and in the Society Islands, no Fijian game that I know has any mythological significance. Neither does any sign survive to indicate that any of these games ever had a magical value corresponding to those employed in Papua in connection with the planting of yams, as recorded by Landtman (13) and by Jenness (12). Possibly this absence is attributable to the blight of missionary influence upon old customs and games however innocuous or innocent; any such game that existed may have been suppressed by being banned or by having its name changed or boudlerized. (See Handy, 10, pp. 7 and 8.) *Tevoro* is possibly one of these, as the name is merely the Fijian rendering of the English word "devil." The agent in such changes or suppressions has usually been the native catechist or pastor, a man too frequently fanatical in his consuming desire to purge his flock of everything that could possibly remind them of their former god and heroes.

524 A large number of Fijian string games were originally worked out to
171 the accompaniment of a chant. Many of these chants are almost certainly of
533 great antiquity for the meaning of several of them is not now understood
fully by those who repeat the words.

524 Whatever the custom in former times, string games in Fiji are played
171 nowadays solely for pastime; even this custom is dying out before the
spread of hymn singing, the attendance at football matches, and the general
and rapid deterioration of the native culture.

Fijian string games are termed collectively *vei thiu* in those localities where the aristocratic Mbauan dialect is spoken; in Vanua Levu they are usually called *vei sanga*.

ETHNOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

524
171 To exhibit the geographical distribution of the figures described from
128 Fiji and Tonga, Table 1 and Table 2 have been prepared.

In making these tables I have utilized, with one exception, only those figures the constructive movements of which are sufficiently similar to permit no doubt of common origin. Figures like those described by Roth (16), in which the final design alone is known, and those in which the movements leading up to similar concluding designs are fundamentally different, have been rigorously excluded. The single exception is the geographic figures representing two islands vis'-à-vis, namely, the Fijian figure "Koro and Wakaia," and the Society Islands figure "Tahiti and Moorea." These I include as equivalent and common in origin because of the similarity in the underlying idea.

524 Table 1 amply demonstrates the predominance of Melanesian influence
171 in Fiji. Of the 30 solitary or independent figures and series of figures
which I have recorded from Fiji, the large total of 12 has been recorded
also from New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Torres Strait, D'Entrecasteaux
Archipelago, and the Fly River district of New Guinea.

Relationship with Tonga comes next in importance, 7 figures being common to Fiji and Tonga. Three of these are not found in New Caledonia and New Guinea areas, suggesting that they are not of Melanesian origin. Nine are common to Fiji and to the Society-Marquesas islands taken as one ethnic and geographic unit, 6 of which are found also in Tonga. It therefore may be concluded that at least most of these figures, as well as those with range restricted to the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa, belong to Polynesian culture.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OI:9 Tonga OU9
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TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FIJIAN STRING FIGURES

Fiji	New Caledonia Loyalty	New Guinea Torres Strait[a]	New Zealand	Tonga	Samoa	Gilbert, Ellice, Tokelau	Society	Marquesas	Carolines	Other Regions
balawa A			matamatakare							world wide
balawa B		baur								java India (?)
ika		so uso								
lulu		sirar							grating coconut	
kalokalo		sisiafwatu								Africa
banuve	madin (N. C.) inyi (Lifu)	kultur manu lansi-si				amen-nibek (Nauru)			one chief	
velovelo	tim (Lifu)	gul ti-meta					apoo mahai ahaana			
wannga-ni-Viti	nameless			ipu-sioata						Africa
sanga ndondoli		devane tup								
tambua			moti	pilita-eiku			moo			
bokola								tataiahue		
tevoro	bracelets					teuila kalisi			diamonds	
imbi-nunga	watasith									
Koro and Wakaia							Tahiti and Moorea			
imbi series	nameless		tara-kaikape	loukabe			firi rau anani	koukape	ten men betel leaf-sheath	
lalakai and mata-ni-singa	sugar-cane Parts I and II									
suviauto mawa				matamata kupenga Part I	moenga	tapa tafa	ioio	tohiau Part I	turtle	Philippines
kapa				matamata kupenga Part II		tapa tafa Part II		tohiau Part II	ten times	Philippines

[a] Includes D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago.

524 171 The comparatively large number of figures common to Tonga and Fiji indicate long-standing cultural connection between these island groups, a conclusion justified by all other evidence. It is likely that the total number of string figures common to the two will be considerably increased when those of Tonga become better known. The same conclusion should hold good of the relationship of Samoan figures with those of Fiji.

That 6 of the Fijian games (9 figures) are found also in the Society and Marquesas islands is a fact of importance, more particularly as 2 of these 6—the Fijian *imbi* and *kapa* series—are intricate and serial and require the intervention of a second player. The most complex of these, the Fijian *imbi*, together with its two principal sequences, is known also in New Zealand, in the Carolines, and in New Caledonia. This particular game, known throughout the greater part of Polynesia, is most probably of Polynesian origin, its presence in Fiji and New Caledonia (or rather in the Loyalty Islands, where Compton found it) being due to contact with Polynesian culture.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF TONGAN STRING FIGURES

Tonga	Fiji	Samoa	New Caledonia	New Zealand	Society	Marquesas	Gilbert Ellice	Carolines
pilitaeiku	tambua			moti	moo			
ipu sioata	wangga-ni-Viti		nameless					
matamata kupenga	suviauto mawa	moenga			ioio	tohiau	tafa tapa	turtle
loukabe	imbi		nameless	tara-kaikape	firi rau anani	koukape		betel leaf-sheath ten men

524 171 192 The names of this game as used in Polynesia are also suggestive of a common Polynesian origin It is known as *loukabe* in Tonga, *tara kaikape* and *tonga raurepe* in New Zealand, *koukape* in the Marquesas, and *firi rau anani* in the Society Islands. The word *kape* (*kabe*) is Polynesian for *Alocasia macrorrhiza,* a magnificent aroid bearing gigantic leaves, conspicuously ribbed on the underside with a network of peculiarly prominent thickened veins. The term *lau* (*rau*) likewise significes "leaf." The Marquesan name, *koukape,* is suspiciously like the Tongan *loukabe* and the Maori *raurepe* and *kaikape,* but Handy (10, p. 8) states that *koukape* means the intestinal mesentery, which had an old-time magical significance. The relationship of these terms might usefully be investigated by the philologist.

524 171 It is also noteworthy that the *imbi* is the most widely spread of any string game, either single or serial, in Oceania. In Samoa and in the Gilbert, Tokelau, and Ellice islands, where it has not been recorded, I feel sure that it will eventually be found.

The relationships of the Tongan figures are wholly Polynesian if Fiji be excluded. Only one form is common to Tonga and the New Caledonia area, whereas 2 of the total 10 are found in New Zealand and 3 in the Society and Marquesas islands. Of these 3, one appears also in Samoa and in the Ellice and Tokelau islands.

The Samoan figures are not sufficiently numerous to permit useful or valid conclusions to be drawn, except that 2 of them betoken close relationship with the islands to the westward.

121 As pointed out by Handy (10a) a study of string figures has thrown a strong light on the relationships of primitive peoples, but much more information from many island groups is necessary before the full value of the geographical study of string games can be utilized adequately in the solution of the ethnological problems of Melanesia and Polynesia. The present collection has perhaps its chief value in breaking new ground in certain island groups. What has been done in Samoa and in Tonga is not a tithe of what may be accomplished there if an investigator with tact and a knowledge of the language devotes adequate time to the study. Fiji is so prolific a field that I am satisfied that numerous games remain un-
524 recorded. Immediate attention to this subject is, however, necessary, for
178 the people are rapidly forgetting the games and in a few years many will
533 have become irretrievably lost. I would direct special attention to the
171 collection of the chants associated with many of the games. Wherever pos-
126 sible these have been recorded in this collection.

TERMINOLOGY

128 In the description of the movements required to evolve the various figures, I have adopted the technical terms devised by Rivers and Haddon (15), and used also by Handy (10), who describes the terminology in the following convenient form:

> The back of the hand and fingers is referred to as the dorsal side; the palm, as the palmar side; so that a string or a loop is said to lie on the dorsal or the palmar side of the hand or a finger, is picked up on the dorsal or the palmar side of a digit. The little finger side of the hand is called the ulnar side; the thumb side, the radial side; so that strings are said to be ulnar or radial according as they lie on the side of a finger towards the little finger or towards the thumb. Similarly, the direction of the rotation of a hand or a finger is designated as in the ulnar or in the radial direction, according as it describes an arc or a circle starting towards the little finger side of the hand or towards the thumb side.

524 7. Insert the thumbs into the little finger loop from the proximal direction, keeping close to the little fingers. Join the tips of the index finger and thumb of each hand, and keeping them joined, turn the index fingers down into the little finger loops, withdrawing the thumbs.

8. Turn the palms upwards, and insert the thumbs into the two distal index loops. Release the little finger loops and spread the index fingers and thumbs, drawing the strings taut. (There are now a double loop on each thumb and a treble loop on each index, the strings of the third loop crossing in zig-zags from back to front in the form of three V's as shown in figure 52.)

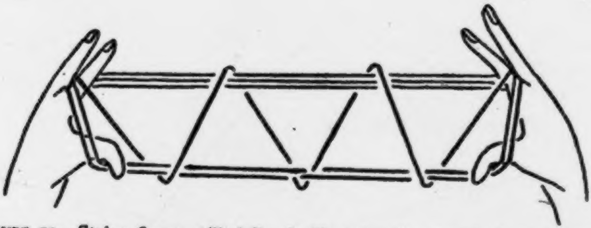


FIGURE 52.—String figure, *pilitaleiku* (tailless lizard), at end of movement No. 8.

9. From below, hook the middle fingers upon the side strings of the central V, pull out sideways and downwards, release the index finger loops and pull taut.

10. Release the thumbs, insert the index fingers in the middle finger loops and extend, when the "tailless lizard" appears. It ought by right to be called the "stump-tailed lizard," as two loops appear, one being the head and the other the remains of a tail. The lizard represented is, I believe, the house gecko, which is very partial to self-mutilation, when in danger of capture.

524 The working of this game is identical with the Maori *moti* (*mouti*) up
171 to the end of movement 9 (1, vol. III, p. 91), where the Tongan one ends. The Fijian *tambua* (fig. 13) and the Society Islands *moo* (10, p. 66) are closely related.

524

TAFUE-A-FANENE (FUE-A-FANENE)

1. Extend the string upon the index fingers.

2. Going distal, take the ulnar string at the middle point between the lips.

3. Passing the right hand mouth string on the distal side, catch up from the proximal side the left hand mouth string upon the right index

524 When extended, the figure shows a series of double zig-
171 zags between two parallel lines—a figure akin to the Fijian *sanga ndondoli.*
Another continuation forms *matapa-a-Tenioko* (Tenioko's gate, fig. 55).
524

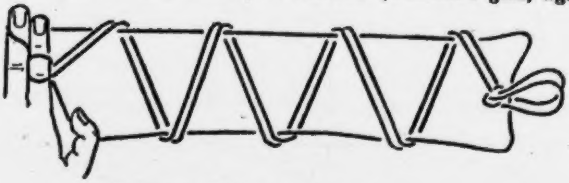


FIGURE 54.—String figure, *maile-lau-momo.*

MATAPA-A-TENIOKO

1. Make *tafue-a-Fanene* (fig. 53), hanging the loose string pendent on the far side.

2. With the thumbs which press down the palmar strings of the twisted loop, catch up upon their palmar faces the loose or skipping string, and hold it down together with the palmar string of the twisted middle finger loop. Extend the figure, turning the palms of the hands outwards.

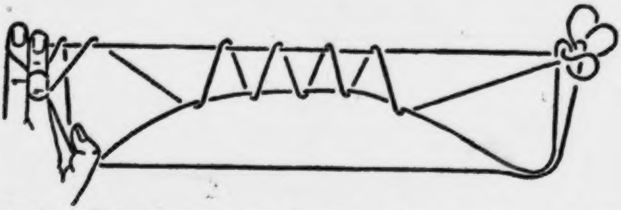


FIGURE 55.—String figure, *matapa-a-Tenioko* (Tenioko's gateway or the Tenioko gate, if, as is possible, Tenioko is a place name), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, Tongatabu, Tonga.

The result is an archway or bridge-like figure. If desired, the number of loops on the archway may be increased by giving more twists to the middle finger loops when making the *tafue-a-Fanene* figure.

IPU SIOATA

FIRST PART

1. Take a double turn with a closed loop round the big toe, so that one string passes across the upper surface of the toe.

2. Thrust each hand from the proximal side through the upper portion of the free loop, bend each outwards over its respective side-cord,

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 The game is continued by the first player (A) and second player (B) competing in speed in reforming the figure as follows, B first gives corner spaces *a′*, *a′* to A who inserts his thumbs into them. Then A puts his index fingers through spaces *a′*, *a′*, from below, and into central space *b* from above. B does similarly with spaces *a*, *a* and down through

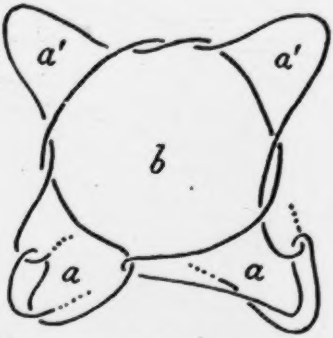


FIGURE 58.—String figure, *matamata kupenga*; second part. Half of the figure only is shown; the other half is duplicate and is superposed on this.

b. The two then extend the figure between them, pulling out the thumbs which are kept in the corner spaces while the figure is reforming. Then they replace the index fingers by the thumbs and repeat *ad infinitum* till one player makes a mistake. This figure is identical with the Fijian *kapa*. [171]

LOUKABE

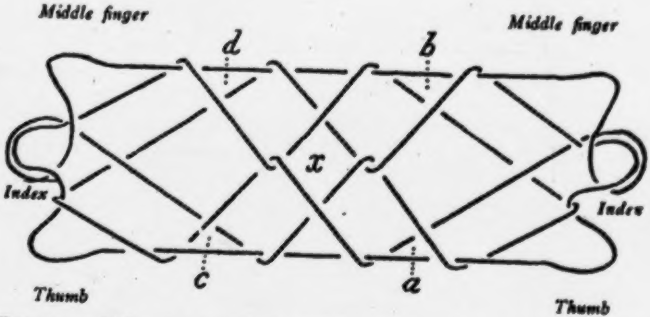
1. Opening A.
2. Release the thumb loops.
3. Going distal pick up the little finger ulnar with the lips and draw out.
4. Pass the right index distal to the right mouth string and proximal to the left one; catch the latter upon the dorsal side of its tip and return; similarly going proximal take the right mouth string on the back of the left index. Extend, releasing the mouth loop.
5. Pass the thumbs proximal to the index loops and thrust them into the little finger loops from the proximal side; return with the little finger radials on their backs. Pass the thumbs next into the distal index loops from below and return with the distal index radials on the backs of the thumbs.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 6. Navaho the thumbs and release the distal index loops by slipping them over the index tips.

7. Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers, passing the latter from below into the thumb loops.

8. Repeat movement 5.



[115] FIGURE 59.—String figure, *loukabe* (kabe leaf), learned from a Tongan girl at Neiafou, Vavau Island.

9. Pass the middle fingers distal to the two index ulnar strings, into the index loops, hook up upon their tip, the proximal index radial strings and return.

10. Navaho the thumbs.

11. Release the little finger loops and extend, turning the palms downwards into a horizontal position.

524 The *loukabe* figure is identical both in working and result with the
Caroline Islands "ten men," and also with the Maori *tonga raurepe* save
171 in the earlier moves where there is notable difference. There seemed a
probability that the name *raurepe* was a variant of *laukape*, especially as
524 it is prefixed by the adjective "*tonga*." But Andersen (1, vol. 4, p. 247)
192 says that *tonga raurepe* is the name of an ancester of the Maori tribe
171 called Ngati-Porou, and is restricted thereto. Among the Whanganui tribes
it is called *tara kai kape*, the *kape* again suggestive of close relationship
with Tonga.

This figure and its sequences are also similar to the Marquesan *koukape* and the Society Islands *firi rau anani*. The Marquesan name of *koukape* is suspiciously like the Tongan *loukabe*, but Handy (10, p. 8) states that *koukape* signifies the intestinal mesentery, and also the name of a fish given as medicine to a woman after childbirth. She adds that it had an old-time magical significance. The use of *kape* or *kabe* in the

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 names of this figure in the Marquesas, Tonga, and New Zealand can
171 scarcely be a coincidence without meaning. Possibly the original form of
192 the word *koukape* has undergone some mutilation or corruption, leading
thereby to a misunderstanding of its significance.

192 The term *kabe* or *kape* is applied in Tonga to *Alocasia macrorrhiza*, an aroid of extremely stout growth, having huge leaves prominently veined. The tubers of *kabe* are used in the same way as those of taro (*talo*).

TOLOA

524 1. Make the *laukabe* figure.

2. A second player inserts from above the thumb and index of his left hand into and through the marginal triangles *a* and *b* respectively, and similarly his right thumb and index into *c* and *d*, bringing all four digits upwards through the central diamond space *x*. Upon extension the figure *toloa* is formed.

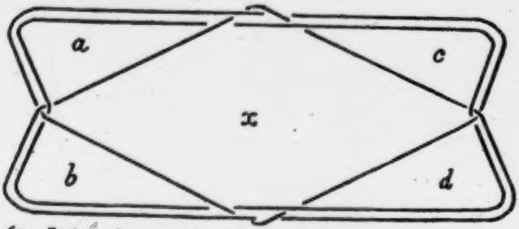


FIGURE 60.—String figure, *toloa* (the Southern Cross), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, of Tongatabu, Tonga.

From this another astronomical figure, *humu*, the "coal hole," can be formed.

192
821 In Tongan *toloa* is a wild duck and Collocott (5a) states that "Tongan imagination pictures the Southern Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta"—the dark patch of clear sky near the left end of the cross is *humu*, a kind of fish.

HUMU

524 The *humu* figure is a continuation of *toloa*. The first player passes his right finger and thumb from above through the corner triangles at one end, *a* and *b* respectively, and those of his left hand similarly through triangles *c* and *d*, at the other end, thereafter turning all four upwards and

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU Tonga OU9

524 [171] passing them from below through the center diamond *x*. The result is a figure identical with the Maori *wahine* and closely akin to the Samoan *paa*.

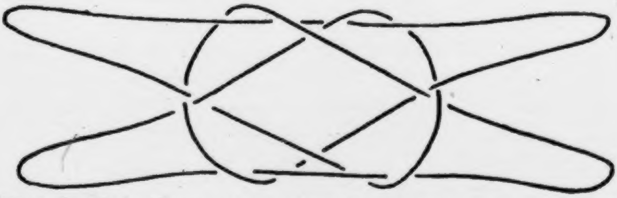


FIGURE 61.—String figure, *humu* (the Coal-hole, under the Southern Cross), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, of Tongatabu, Tonga.

524 171 This series of *laukabe, toloa* and *humu* is an exact parallel of the Fijian series of *imbi, drau-ni-ivi* and *tavola;* There are certain minor differences between the working of *imbi* and *laukabe*, but there is no room for doubt that they have had a common origin. (See also the Fijian *vasua*, p. 43.)

[pp. 71-87 not processed]

and the end of February. *'Ava* in Ano is likewise protected in May, June and July. 225

The use of fences for the purpose of catching fish or turtles is licensed. 226 [225]

12.—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

A brief description has been given of the methods of indigenous fisheries in Tonga. It will be clear that some of the fishing methods as described are not strictly confined to Tonga. For instance, octopus fishing with a sort of mouse-shape "bait" is practised largely throughout the Pacific area. Other methods of community fishing or net fishing are also in use in other areas although sometimes with some alterations and under different names. 121 226 171

From the descriptions given, it becomes apparent that Tonga is badly in need of:— 000

1. Improvement of existing fishing methods.
2. Introduction of new methods of fisheries.
3. Improvement of fish processing like salting, drying, etc.
4. Fisheries propaganda and import of diversified fishing tackle.
5. Fish marketing.

The realisation of this programme should eventually lead to improvement of the protein diet of the indigenous population.

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